THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 167 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • NOVEMBER 20, 1948 NUMBER 21

The Shape of Things

ON THE VERY EVE OF THE SIX-NATIONS conference in London to set up an international authority for the Ruhr, the British-American military chiefs in Germany chucked an oversized monkey-wrench into the machinery. Without previous consultation with the other interested nations, France in particular, they announced that the Ruhr industries would be turned back forthwith to German ownership and control. The feeling in France against this decision is more violent than any of its public men has openly expressed. No verbal safeguards or euphemisms—such as calling the new owners "trustees"—alter the basic fact upon which French resentment is concentrated: the new plan ends all hope of effective international control. The British apparently supported the plan with misgivings, since the Labor Party has strongly opposed private ownership of the Ruhr heavy industries, but the Americans were adamant and as usual imposed their will. It is an ironic commentary on the decision that the German workers themselves have bitterly denounced it. The whole performance has been a victory for the view of the American military-financial bosses, but a victory won at a high cost. We can only hope that the official opposition of the French and the indignation of labor and left groups in all the Western countries will make themselves felt in the conference room in London.

✳

PROGRESSIVE DETERIORATION OF SPAIN'S economy, reported in detail by Mr. del Vayo on page 572, explains why the friends of Franco have stepped up their campaign to bring him moral and financial succor. James A. Farley, who has taken charge of Franco's public relations since his recent return from Spain, is urging repudiation by the United States of the United Nations resolution of December, 1946, by virtue of which our ambassador was withdrawn from Madrid. At a recent convention of the National Foreign Trade Council, he declared that United States policy has been "stupid" and that diplomatic relations should be resumed "before it is too late." That suggests a fear that Spain's internal situation is becoming desperate, and so too, despite its cocky overtones, did the interview Franco gave C. L. Sulzberger of the New York *Times* on Armistice Day. Spain, he said, hoped to get a $200,000,000 loan from the United States as soon as public opinion here was "ripe." He did not expect, however, to secure this sum through the European Recovery Program, as he did not like to intrude where he was not wanted. It would be unkind to suggest that such unexpected delicacy of feeling may have been reinforced by realization that participation in the Office for European Economic Cooperation might involve unwelcome publicity for the corruption and inefficiency of the Franco regime. Be that as it may, El Caudillo's preference is for a direct deal with the United States, and he hinted that in return for cash he might consider a military alliance. Unofficial State Department comments on the interview, we are glad to learn, do not flatter his hopes. But since the department no longer formally passes on private foreign credits, there is apparently nothing to prevent Mr. Farley and his friends from making a loan to Franco—if they are as willing to risk their own money as they are that of the taxpayers.

✳

IT IS NOT EASY TO ASSESS EITHER THE EXACT meaning or the practical effects of the sweeping Gaullist gains in last week's elections for the French Council of the Republic. Indeed, it is still unclear just how extensive those gains were. According to the Ministry of the Interior, the General's followers won 97 seats out of 267 so far reported; the secretary of his party—the Rally of the French People (R. P. F.)—claims 121. The difference may be accounted for by candidates who ran on other tickets but pledged themselves to support De Gaulle. In any case, the R. P. F. will form by far the largest group in the council, with the Socialists, who about held their own, in second place. Both the Communists and the Popular Republicans (M. R. P.) suffered catastrophic losses. The Communists complain they were cheated by the abandonment of proportional representation in all but nine of the eighty-eight departments, whose 100,011 councilors were the voters in this indirect election. Undoubtedly, the sixteen places they obtained, compared with eighty-eight held previously, do not provide a true indication of their strength in the country. Yet it is probable that their popular support has declined, for their recent tactics have tended to convert

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS
The Shape of Things 561
Chiang's Last Days 563
The Reconstruction 564

ARTICLES
Truman vs. His Delegation *by Lillie Shultz* 565
Journey Among Creeds: III. Rome and Foggia *by Freda Kirchwey* 566
Uneasy Truce in Washington *by Thomas Sancton* 568
Can the Ban Be Justified? 569
Franco Spain: "E. R. P. or Bust" *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 572
Britain's Battle of Steel *by Keith Hutchison* 575

BOOKS AND THE ARTS
The Critic's Role *by Clive Bell* 578
The Cardinal Fact *by Henry David Aiken* 580
The Life of Musorgsky *by B. H. Haggin* 581
The Twelve-Tone System *by Harold Brown* 583
Two Biographies *by R. W. Flint* 584
Books in Brief *by B. H. H.* 584
Films *by Anthony Bower* 586
Drama *by Joseph Wood Krutch* 586
Records *by B. H. Haggin* 586

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 288 *by Frank W. Lewis* 588

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey
Executive Editor: Harold C. Field
European Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo — *Literary Editor* Margaret Marshall
Associate Editor: Robert Bendiner
Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison
Washington Editor: Thomas Sancton
Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch — *Music:* B. H. Haggin
Assistant Editor: Jerry Tallmer — *Copy Editor:* Gladys Whiteside
Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting
Staff Contributors
Carey McWilliams, Reinhold Niebuhr, Maxwell S. Stewart, J. King Gordon, Ralph Bates, Andrew Roth

Business & Advertising Manager: Hugo Van Arx
Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1948, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.
Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $6; Two years $10; Three years $14. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.
Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.
Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

more people to Gaullism than to communism. The losses of the M. R. P. appear to be due to massive desertions to De Gaulle. Each election in France makes it clearer that this nominally "popular" Catholic party has unstable foundations and that its spectacular success just after the war was due to the convenient temporary home it offered to frightened reactionaries. This makes the latest election ominous for a government based on an uneasy alliance between the M. R. P. and the Socialists. Moreover, while De Gaulle's victory may not enable him to force a new general election—the powers of the council are very limited—it does put him in a strategic position to harass an already over-harassed administration.

*

BARELY RECOVERED FROM THE SHOCK OF the Truman victory, the Dixiecrats are now letting it be known that they were merely waging a "family fight," and Senator-elect Russell Long has kindly paid tribute to President Truman for renouncing all malice. As Huey's son interprets the President's comment, "It leaves the way open for anyone to come back who wishes." We hope not. The Dixiecrats, after all, have nothing in common with the Democratic Party as Mr. Truman presented it during the campaign, and they would surely have shown him no mercy if the election had been thrown into the House, as they planned. There is emotional ground for Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt's bold advice to oust all Dixiecrats from the party, or rather to recognize their own violent withdrawal as permanent. Inasmuch as a sweeping purge of this sort might cost the Democrats the Senate, however, and possibly the House as well, party leaders are justified in looking upon such a course as a plain case of cutting off the nose to spite the face. Senator McGrath, Democratic national chairman, probably struck a more reasonable note when he made the distinction between "misdemeanors," which he said might be forgiven, and "mortal sins," which would not. Mr. McGrath also drew a line between separating active Dixiecrats from appointive jobs wherever feasible and denying them committee chairmanships in Congress. The first course is simple enough, but the second would call for the death of the seniority system at the hands of a majority in each house. Highly desirable as it is, that is a tall order and one not to be executed at the crack of a Presidential whip.

*

IN THE RUSH OF RETURNS, WE FAILED TO discover until now that one of *The Nation's* most valued friends and regular contributors was elected to the Oregon Senate. The city of Portland did well for itself when it sent Richard L. Neuberger to the state's upper house by 98,897 votes, the largest total ever received by a legislative candidate in the state's history. Our warmest congratulations to Senator Neuberger—and to Oregon.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE ALWAYS SLENDER LEGAL TIES BINDING the British Commonwealth of Nations together are now to become more tenuous than ever. When the official communiqué on the recent Prime Ministers' Conference in London was published, the word "British" was dropped from the title of this unique association. Henceforth, in order to facilitate the continued membership of such non-British states as India, Pakistan, and Ceylon, it is to be known simply as "the Commonwealth." The next step, not mentioned in the communiqué but known to have been the subject of long discussions in London, is redefinition of the relation of the King to the Commonwealth. At present, he is king of England and of each of the dominions individually: in future, reports suggest, he will be king of the Commonwealth as a whole. Consequently, it will be possible for India, which is planning to adopt a republican constitution, to remain within the Commonwealth even though its direct link with the Crown is broken. And Prime Minister Nehru has made it clear that India is now anxious to retain its standing in the British "club." That is only one indication of the amazing and heartening improvement in Anglo-Indian relations since the Labor government boldly conceded full independence to India. Now that they can meet on a basis of equality, Indians and Britons are finding new opportunities for fruitful cooperation. Unfortunately, the hand of friendship extended by Prime Minister Attlee and his colleagues has not been duplicated in all parts of the Commonwealth. India has a strong and legitimate grievance against South Africa, which persists in discriminating against Indians, and it is also irked by Australian immigration laws barring "Asiatics." Unless such gross denials of the ideal of racial equality are ended, it is hard to believe that the Commonwealth can realize its possibilities as a meeting place between East and West.

Chiang's Last Days

EVENTS have moved with bewildering rapidity in China since the Communist victories in Manchuria at the end of October. Military developments have been overshadowed by the economic and political crisis within Kuomintang China. The civil war has taken on the characteristics of a social revolution. The breakdown of the government's controls has paralyzed economic activity. The new gold yuan has become virtually worthless. Farmers have stopped bringing food into the cities. Until checked by martial law, hungry mobs stormed through the streets of Shanghai and Nanking, breaking into rice shops and seizing food wherever they could find it. Railway workers went on strike, demanding that their wages be paid in food instead of worthless paper. Chinese of all groups and classes are clamoring for an immediate peace settlement with the Communists. Whole divisions of the Kuomintang's best troops have deserted to the advancing Chinese red armies.

How long the Nanking government can survive is uncertain. The Generalissimo's appeal to his followers to rally around him for "another eight long years" of struggle against the Communists apparently fell on deaf ears. If a democratic opposition had been permitted to emerge, it would certainly now be in power. Since no such opposition group exists in Kuomintang China, we may see a complete collapse of central authority.

Both Chinese and American supporters of the Kuomintang are demanding increased American aid to stave off this disaster, and State Department and E. C. A. officials have been conferring almost constantly in Washington this past week. The plain fact of the matter is that probably nothing the United States can do at this stage, short of war, can save Chiang; most of the steps that have been advocated would play into the hands of the Communists. Despite the three to four billion dollars that have been poured into China since the end of the war, Chiang's regime is weaker than ever. Hundreds of millions of American dollars supposedly destined to feed the hungry people have mysteriously reappeared in American banks as personal deposits of men high in the government. The great bulk of the military equipment which this country has furnished Chiang Kai-shek is now in Communist hands—either captured from Chiang's defeated armies or bought from venal Kuomintang officials. Many of the American-trained troops now wear the Communist uniform. If we step up our military assistance in the north, as has been suggested, it seems likely that everything we could send would be in Communist hands before the end of the winter.

It is obvious that Marshall's "middle-course" policy toward China has failed completely. About the cause of the failure, however, there is considerable disagreement. One view, expressed by such men as ex-Ambassador Bullitt, Representative Judd, and Henry Luce, is that our aid has been "too little and too late." These men ignore the corruption and inefficiency in the government which has prevented the money we did give from accomplishing its purpose. And they close their eyes to the undeniable fact that the Chinese people do not want our help if it keeps in power the dictatorial Chiang regime. Other critics, taking their cue from General Stilwell's experience, say that our failure was in not insisting on basic democratic reforms within the Kuomintang. General Marshall tried to make reforms a condition of further aid when he first went to China, but he allowed himself to be deceived by promises that were never meant to be kept. Since then, the right-wing of the Kuomintang has blackmailed the United States with the threat of communism to get what it wanted without even the promise of improvement.

In the present situation, the wisest course for the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

United States to follow would seem to be a "hands-off" policy. While doing what we can to feed the hungry people of the coastal cities, either through the International Red Cross or some other non-political relief organization, we should refuse to support further the Nanking government and its armies. Future financial or military aid should be made conditional upon a complete reorganization of the regime. The best chance of peace lies in Chiang's early retirement and the creation of a new government headed by one of the more progressive opposition leaders, possibly General Li Chi-Sen, now in exile in Hong Kong. Such a government could negotiate a settlement with the Communists and open the way for a coalition regime which might succeed in winning the confidence of a war-weary people. The time for less drastic solutions has passed.

The Reconstruction

A REPORTER on the Truman campaign train is supposed to have remarked that with the staff the President had at his command Robert E. Lee couldn't carry Virginia. Wide of the mark as this judgment turned out to be, it reflected accurately enough the extent to which the President owes his election to himself and to the voters rather than to the machine bosses and political master-minds who usually run Presidential campaigns. But this very freedom from the obligations that customarily weigh down the victor leaves Mr. Truman with an acute problem. Having enjoyed the loyal backing of only a handful of his nominal supporters, endured the cold indifference of many of his own top appointees, and suffered the open antagonism of a whole wing of his party, he finds himself having to rebuild his Administration almost from scratch. This is not only his most pressing task but one that will tell the country immediately what it can expect during the next four years.

If any single group deserves consideration in this reconstruction process, it is organized labor. Farmers, to an extent that astounded the experts, gave Truman their individual ballots, but it was the unions, operating with a quiet efficiency hitherto uncharacteristic of labor in politics, that got out the Democratic vote. No one who studies the Congressional returns will deny labor's role. Of 331 Representatives who voted to override the President's veto of the Taft-Hartley act, 103 will not return to Washington, and 17 Senators are in the same category. While a handful of these statesmen retired voluntarily, or died after that law was passed, the overwhelming majority were returned to private life largely through the efforts of the unions. Voting their sentiments on the Taft-Hartley act, the labor people likewise plumped for Mr. Truman, accepting his spirited pledges to uphold a platform that might have been drafted by their own union officers.

Liberal groups and political independents, too, are due for a share of the credit. Americans for Democratic Action, for all its pre-convention opposition to Mr. Truman, collaborated closely with the A. F. of L. and C. I. O. in promoting the Democratic victory and, in return, has the pleasure of seeing at least twenty of its members in the new Congress. And, significantly, it was the Liberal Party in New York, not Ed Flynn and the various Democratic machines, that ran the Madison Square Garden rally which traditionally winds up the campaign.

But even if labor and the independents had been less active in Truman's behalf than they were, his obligation to reconstruct his Administration along liberal lines would remain, simply because political liberalism was the basis of his appeal to the voters. His campaign was to the left of any other waged by a successful nominee in American history, and it would be politically disastrous for him now to minimize that fact.

It is at this point that the obligation of the liberals themselves comes into the picture. If the President is to clean house of the Forrestals, Lovetts, Sawyers, Royalls, and Symingtons, he must be able to count on a greater willingness to serve in government than has been manifest among New Dealers since the death of Franklin D. Roosevelt. So far, a wait-and-see attitude appears to be prevalent in these circles. A great many men who staffed the executive offices under Roosevelt are understandably hesitant even to anticipate a return to government. Some, having spent ten years or more on federal salaries, are now compensating their families for the lean years; others have gone to considerable trouble and expense to establish themselves in private business or law practice; and still others are leary about taking the lead in a second New Deal, fearful that they might find themselves a small band fronting for conservative Snyder-like mediocrities and sharing the blame for promises forgotten.

All these attitudes are understandable, but they are not defensible. The Eighty-first Congress promises to deliver for the President, but it will deliver what he asks, just as the inspiration for New Deal legislation came from the White House and the administrative departments rather than from Capitol Hill. The President will make good his campaign pledges only if he has the personnel to do the job. He can help himself to recruit that personnel if he acts boldly and quickly. It is for him to restore confidence to the veteran New Dealers and to attract fresh talent by drastically cleaning house and by seeking the

Next Week in "The Nation"

The East-West impasse discussed by

Harold J. Laski

Needed: an Agenda for Peace

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

kind of administrators he needs. It would take only a little of the courage he displayed in the campaign to invite Mr. Snyder to accept the job he was reportedly considering with Giannini's Bank of America, to suggest to Messrs. Forrestal, Lovett, *et al.* that the time has come for them to resume their interrupted careers in that same Wall Street he so enthusiastically damned from the back platform of his campaign train, and, above all, to rid his State Department of men who have violated his directives with an open scorn that has made the American government ridiculous in the capitals of the world.

As for the New Dealers—men like Harold Ickes, Paul A. Porter, and Morris Ernst, all of whom have been mentioned for high posts—we hope they and others of their caliber will meet the President more than halfway, that if asked to serve they will accept with spirit and alacrity, for the momentum of the election will not last indefinitely. It was those first Hundred Days that made Roosevelt's New Deal.

Israel: Truman Versus His Delegation

BY LILLIE SHULTZ

Paris, November 13

PRESIDENT TRUMAN has issued a new directive to the American delegation. This would supersede the sanctions resolution of November 4 on the one hand and the Bernadotte plan on the other. In place of the sanctions resolution and Acting Mediator Bunche's proposal for an imposed armistice implying further sanctions against the Israelis in case of non-compliance, the President's directive calls for the immediate declaration of an armistice on a date in November to be fixed. It calls upon both parties to undertake direct negotiations to establish armistice demarcation lines, beyond which their troops shall not move, and to effect such withdrawal and reduction of their armed forces as will assure the restoration of Palestine to peace-time conditions.

When the long-delayed discussion of the Palestine question begins in the special ad hoc committee next week, the Presidential directive would require the bypassing of the Bernadotte plan and an agreement on the establishment of a good-offices commission whose function would be to help the two parties compose their differences. The President's intention is that the settlement shall be on the basis of the resolution of November 29, 1947, taking into account developments since then. This is in accord with the pledges of the Democratic Party platform, to which Mr. Truman has reiterated his adherence.

That a change in American policy impends was forecast by Secretary Marshall at a press conference yesterday. He was asked directly whether American policy could be assumed to be that enunciated by him on September 21 when he called for adoption of the Bernadotte plan in its entirety. Marshall said, "No, it cannot be." At the same time he made it known that the President had requested that nothing be done on the Palestine question without prior consultation with him, and that Mr. Truman was therefore being kept abreast of every development. No word of these Presidential orders has yet come to the attention of the operative bodies of the United Nations, but it is already apparent behind the scenes that the State Department is maneuvering to whittle down the directives. This maneuver takes the form of adding to the proposed armistice resolution a clause which would call for the demilitarized zones to which the Israelis object. They would accept a sort of no man's land if it were essential to an armistice but would oppose anything that meant substantial evacuation of the Negev, which was awarded to them by the resolution of November 29 and title to which they have further secured by their military successes.

[*Paris, November 15.* This afternoon at the meeting of the Security Council the Canadian delegation introduced a resolution, sponsored jointly by France and Belgium, incorporating the substance of President Truman's directive, although in modified form. Invoking Article 40 of the Charter to force negotiations between the parties, the Canadian resolution further states that it is without prejudice to the sanctions resolution of November 4. Dr. Jessup, the American delegate, while indicating support of the resolution, declared that the November 4 resolution, with its threat of sanctions against Israel, was still operative. He did hold out the hope that if the Israelis retreated to their October 14 positions as required under the November 4 truce resolution, they might conceivably be allowed to move forward again should the armistice resolution be adopted. The reference to the November 4 resolution was included at the insistence of the British with the consent of the Americans.]

THERE are skeptics in the U. N. still unwilling to believe that the end of Anglo-American collusion is in sight. The failure of the United States to sponsor a resolution incorporating the Presidential directive adds to their skepticism. They say also, and with justification, that the United States needs to demonstrate its intention by action—action that would clearly be in the President's power to initiate. A minimal course would be immediate de jure recognition of Israel by the United States, followed by sponsorship of Israel's admission to the U. N. If it was active sponsorship, seven affirmative votes could be assured in the Security Council.

This would leave open the question of Britain's atti-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tude. Britain would face the choice of using the veto for the first time or registering its opposition by abstention. It seems hardly likely that the United States, if it were really in earnest about the situation, could not force British acquiescence.

Next week will tell the story. The maneuvering of the British continues without abatement. In this they still have the consistent help of Dr. Bunche. Their purpose is to use the threat of sanctions to force the retirement of the Israelis from the Negev, paving the way for the detachment of the Negev from Israel, as proposed in the Bernadotte plan.

This intention explains the developments of the past week. The first was the return to Paris, *on his own initiative,* of the chief U. N. Truce Observer, General William E. Riley. General Riley stated that the truce had practically collapsed, the Arab armies were defeated, and the Jews could, if they wanted, take over the whole country. Orally he expressed the view that the sanctions resolution was unenforceable.

Last Monday all copies of General Riley's report were withdrawn from circulation among the U. N. secretariat, and an official denial of his alleged statements was issued by Dr. Bunche. Despite this, at a closed meeting of the Security Council the following day Bunche reiterated the substance of General Riley's statements. Instead of meeting the situation logically, however, Bunche presented a resolution proposing an imposed armistice. Its purpose was to create a situation which would open the door to sanctions against the Jews in the event of their noncompliance. If they complied, the Bunche resolution would facilitate pushing through the Bernadotte plan by establishing broad demilitarized zones. Bunche was in effect asking the Israelis to withdraw from the Negev, where they had just defeated the Egyptians; from sections of Galilee, where they had just defeated the Lebanese; and from other areas captured from invading Arab armies. That sanctions were involved was made very clear by Bunche at a press conference on Tuesday evening, when he said, in response to a question I asked him, that in the event of non-compliance the Security Council—assuming a continued threat to peace existed—would invoke Chapter 7 of the Charter.

This week, too, the Sanctions Committee, consisting of the Big Five plus Colombia and Belgium, has been meeting for the first time. Bunche proposed in a written memorandum that the Israeli armies should retire to an area north of the line of October 14; that Beersheba, captured from the Egyptians, should be placed under a civilian administration headed by an Arab governor; that Israeli garrison strength in the Negev settlements should be reduced to the elements stationed there before October 14. The Egyptians, as a reward for their defeat, are given a triangle south of Beersheba on the Thirty-first Parallel, connecting with roads leading to Beersheba and Jerusalem. Clearly, the idea is to force the Israelis to evacuate the Negev.

Today the British won their first victory when the Sanctions Committee, with only the Soviet Union abstaining, informed Dr. Bunche that it regarded his plan as equitable. The Acting Mediator will now order the Israelis to retire, and should they refuse, as seems certain, sanctions could be applied almost simultaneously.

On Monday the Security Council meets to discuss Bunche's armistice proposals and the British plan to include Galilee within the terms of the resolution of November 4. The American position at this meeting will indicate the course the United States delegation is prepared to take under the Presidential directive. In the last analysis the outcome will depend on the vigor and continuity with which the President follows developments at the U. N. Since last September every decent act of his has been countermanded by the State Department. Those responsible are still in office in Washington and Paris. The new Presidential directive described in this dispatch, if scrupulously followed, could end the Palestine crisis within a fortnight by stopping the current war and paving the way for a speedy settlement between the Israelis and the Arabs.

Journey Among Creeds

III. Rome and Foggia

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

Miss Kirchwey visited Italy in September as a member of the One World delegation to dedicate a hospital to the memory of Fiorello LaGuardia.

EVERYTHING had been arranged for us in Italy. One of the delegates, Edward Corsi, who is Governor Dewey's Industrial Commissioner, had been in Rome for a week or more and had given out several press statements heralding our arrival. If at the same time he had managed to suggest that the Republican candidate, soon to be President, would do something drastic about immigration from Italy, the result was doubtless to enhance the mission's popularity without, I suspect, noticeably affecting the election returns. In any case we were warmly welcomed and universally referred to as the "Corsi committee"—even in a formal address by the Mayor of Rome!

From the beginning we were efficiently taken in hand by the church. If the influence of Moscow permeated the air in Poland and Czechoslovakia, in Italy the Vatican directly or indirectly ran the whole show. On the day after our arrival Prime Minister de Gasperi received the One World group in his office to express the appreciation of the government and offer us his cooperation. Very earnestly and pointedly he told us that he spoke not for a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

party or a religion but for all the people of Italy. If he was as sincere as he sounded, I can only assume that the Premier regards clericalism as a normal, perhaps even a necessary, aspect of democracy—just as the Russians regard communism.

Our main purpose in Italy was the dedication of a new hospital in Foggia, the district where LaGuardia's parents were born. Appropriately enough, UNRRA supplied most of the funds for the building. It is located at the little village of San Giovanni Rotondo in a poor and mountainous area where the need of hospital facilities is pitifully evident. From the airfield we drove up winding mountain roads to the site of the hospital, and as we neared the spot crowds of peasants cheered happily from the roadside and followed the car up the hill. They shouted "Viva America" and "Viva La Guardia." It was moving and a little disturbing, for we could not forget that UNRRA was now a symbol of the past, and Italy's future a grave question.

The foundations of the hospital are built, and they provided both an excellent platform overlooking the road upon which to stage the ceremony and space, underneath, for an informal reception. Government officials, the archbishop of the province, priests from the village church, and a number of monks from the ancient sanctuary of San Michele nearby acted as a reception committee. The neighborhood attended en masse, and our party was completely submerged in people and dust and noise and friendly attentions. But the chief focus of interest was not the "Corsi committee" or even the Archbishop in his robes and miter. The hero of the afternoon was Padre Pio, an amiable, bearded monk whose fame has spread, so his followers assured us, up and down the length of Italy. Padre Pio, it seems, miraculously received the stigmata when he was a young man, and from that time on the influence of his holiness has affected all who came near him.

Shaded by an umbrella, the Padre cheerfully consented to pose for news photographers side by side with members of the delegation. Peasant women shoved and clambered over one another to get close enough to kneel and kiss his mittened hand and receive his blessing. A Christian Democratic woman deputy from Foggia took me by the arm and forced a way through the crowd so that I could meet the Padre in person. Another self-appointed guide found me a seat in the stone arcade under the hospital where young girls from the neighborhood were serving refreshments. In excellent English she told me, while piling my plate with food, that she had left her home and family in Florence and an established career as engineer to live in a peasant hut in San Giovanni Rotondo as a disciple of the holy man. A pretty girl carrying a tray of coffee was introduced as her sister. "She came to visit me," said my escort, "when she was recuperating from an illness. The real reason for her coming was to induce me to go home. My family are not religious and they cannot understand my staying here. But you see the plan did not turn out as they hoped: I have remained here and my sister with me! She has also learned what it means to be near Padre Pio."

At the ceremonies Mr. Corsi spoke in good New York Italian. The prefect and other dignitaries responded. And the name of LaGuardia was officially bestowed upon the modern hospital that will ultimately rise on the hillside at San Giovanni Rotondo. Then we climbed into cars and went off through the dust and cheers to the town of Foggia itself, where more ceremonies were held along with an excellent and monstrous lunch and speeches and toasts, so that when the delegation finally rolled up to the airfield in the late afternoon the pilot of our plane declined to take us back to Rome. Understanding his plane's limitations he preferred to cross the Apennines in clear daylight.

WHEN we reached Rome next morning we found the city invaded. Two hundred thousand girl members of Catholic Action had moved in from every town and village in Italy. They marched in processions, filling the sidewalks; they swarmed into the churches and attended meetings, shepherded by nuns; functions were arranged for them by the government; you could see their brick-red berets bobbing everywhere. And after they left, a still larger army of Catholic Action boys—some 300,000—took over the streets. The church and the government were dramatizing their political union most convincingly, with marching armies of Catholic youth. As I watched them go by I thought suddenly, with sharp discomfort, of a summer visit to Austria twenty years ago when I watched the same sorts of boys, heavy peasants from the hills, led by priests with banners, drilling in preparation for the coming showdown with the godless Socialists of Vienna.

Before I left Rome I talked to a right-wing Socialist now serving in one of the ministries. His party gained ground in the elections by its support of the government and its opposition to communism, but he was painfully aware of the compromise of principle involved in this choice. For a Socialist to serve a government which has allowed relief and social services and public health and education all to fall into the hands of the church is a bitter corvee. He lived in hope of a reunion of Socialist anti-clerical forces—but without the Communists. He denounced the Communists not only for their subservience to Russian interests but for their support of the Lateran agreement. "It was their fault it was put into the constitution," he said. "But now your party is in a Vatican-controlled coalition," I said. "Yes," he answered. "Between them the church and the Communists have smashed the independent left in Italy—for the time being only."

[The first of Miss Kirchwey's articles on her visit to Israel will appear in an early issue.]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Uneasy Truce in Washington

BY THOMAS SANCTON

Washington, November 12

LIBERAL and labor groups in Washington are in difficulties at present as a result of their unanticipated successes in the election. As in a military offensive which suddenly overruns an area, they have made a big advance before all the problems of the new terrain have been worked out. Now they find themselves engaged in an intra-party struggle with Northern conservatives and Dixiecrats who hold commanding points of vantage in the party organization.

The problem of the liberal forces is complicated by the fact that President Truman has been traveling or on vacation at Key West most of the time since the election. On a brief visit to Washington he expressed his gratitude to liberal organizations for their aid in getting out the vote, and—what was more to the point—told his Cabinet that he held it obligated to help him and Vice-President Barkley carry out their campaign promises. But in Key West he is surrounded by his inner circle of advisers at a time when decisions which will determine the whole course of his Administration are undoubtedly being made. The results of some of these decisions should be apparent before long, and it will be possible to see then in what order of importance the President rates his obligations.

The tendency of old friends and colleagues in Congress to be very tolerant of differences of principle among them always increases the gap between what people vote for in a national election and what they actually get from the Administration they have installed. At this writing, for instance, Vice-President-to-be Barkley has nominated Scott Lucas of Illinois to succeed him as Senate majority leader, and it would be extremely difficult for the President to turn this nomination down. No Congressional figure on the scene today has served the party more effectively than Barkley. Lucas raised money and gave the President other aid in the campaign, but the fact remains that he is one of the most conservative figures in the party outside the Southern contingent. He voted originally for the Taft-Hartley act—though he voted later to sustain the President's veto—and he favors an alliance with the Franco dictatorship in Spain. Also, he tried to block the liberalizing efforts of the civil-rights proponents on the platform committee at Philadelphia. For these reasons some liberal elements are strongly opposing his appointment as Senate leader and urging the selection of a Senator of more trustworthy liberal outlook, such as McMahon, O'Mahoney, or even possibly Chairman McGrath of the Democratic National Committee. President Truman's decision on this question will give some indication of the relative importance he assigns to getting his program through Congress and paying off more direct and personal political obligations.

THE Democratic state machines of four Southern states attempted and almost succeeded in carrying through one of the greatest political betrayals of American history. One might expect the national Democratic Party, therefore, to take the Dixiecrats at their word and reassign their committee seats in Congress. But next January eight Senators and twenty-eight Representatives from the dissident states will come striding back into Congress, with the monumental assurance of their breed, and line up for their seniority assignments, daring the Democratic leaders to mention the little matter of the November 2 double-cross. And they will get by with it. Although they will certainly continue to vote with the most reactionary Republicans whenever the chips are down—as they have done since 1938—the Democratic Party will nevertheless be glad to list them as Democrats since they hold a numerical balance of power in the Senate and can muster somewhat similar strength in the House with the aid of other Southern delegations.

One result of this will be to put Representative John Rankin back at his post as chairman of the Veterans' Affairs Committee and possibly also as chairman of the Un-American Affairs Committee, where he can continue to broadcast his special version of Americanism, Christianity, democracy, and race. It is grimly edifying to observe the Northern Republican press giving the Democratic committee columns of free advice on why it should let this Trojan-horse delegation back into the party.

The House Rules Committee will continue to be a reactionary stronghold in the Eighty-first Congress, as it has been since the alliance of Republicans and Southern Democrats was formed ten years ago. Eight of the committee's places will go to nominal Democrats and four to Republicans, but since two of the Democrats assured of places are Eugene Cox of Georgia and Howard W. Smith of Virginia, who vote consistently with the Republicans, the division on key legislation will frequently result in the stalemate of a six-to-six tie. This was the case in the Seventy-ninth Congress. Thus the coalition may again be able to delay indefinitely important legislation which must get through this committee on its progress to the floor. Among the bills which the Rules Committee will act on in the Eighty-first Congress will be those repealing the Taft-Hartley act, reenacting the excess-profits tax, granting federal aid to education, and extending social security and health insurance

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Last week seekers of omens found significance in Secretary of the Treasury Snyder's dismissal of the Collector of Internal Revenue at Birmingham, Alabama. But that ex-official had literally "asked for it" in a pre-election letter informing the Treasury Department he would not observe its order against racial discrimination in hiring federal personnel. When the Collector's letter was received in Washington, it was spotted as a Dixiecrat maneuver intended to provoke anti-Truman feeling in Alabama and was put away in the files. After the election, when the Collector had reason to value Democratic patronage more than Dixiecrat promises, Mr. Snyder informed him that his resignation had been accepted.

Some newspapers regarded the incident as evidence that a "purge" of disloyal Democratic elements was under way, overlooking the fact that this was but an individual instance, and one in which a provocative letter had been written. Actually the case of the Alabama collector seems to be an exception to the general political amnesty. Any real move to deprive dissident or reactionary elements of party patronage and influence should remove Secretary Snyder from his post. For Snyder's outlook and background recall the anomalous position of Jesse Jones in the New Deal. It should be remembered that Snyder's opposition to Mariner Eccles's anti-inflation proposals, calling for rigid tightening of bank credits, persuaded President Truman to demote the liberal Eccles from the Federal Reserve Board chairmanship.

Undoubtedly a certain kind of political realism—the kind which regards party organization, patronage, and a winning campaign as the ultimate in political realities—argues for the philosophy of forgive and forget which thus far seems ascendant. But an uneasy truce which waives fundamental questions of principle and policy that have been expounded in detail during a campaign thwarts the will of the electorate.

Can the Ban Be Justified?

The Board of Superintendents of New York City on June 8 banned The Nation *from the city high schools. An Ad Hoc Committee to Lift the Ban on* The Nation, *headed by Archibald MacLeish, prepared an "Appeal to Reason and Conscience" which was signed by 107 prominent educators, civic leaders, writers, publishers, and clergymen. It was printed in* The Nation *on October 16. On October 27 Dr. William Jansen, Superintendent of Schools, published a statement setting forth the position of the board. Excerpts from this statement are printed in the left-hand columns below. Sections inclosed in brackets are editorial condensations. Dr. Jansen invited comment on his argument from the indorsers of the "Appeal to Reason and Conscience." Excerpts from some of their replies are printed in the narrow columns on the right.*

Should Religious Beliefs Be Studied and Criticized in an American Public High School?

BY WILLIAM JANSEN

UNTIL June, 1948, *The Nation* was for a number of years on the list of publications which could be purchased for circulation in the libraries of the public high schools of New York City. . . . Readers of *The Nation* know that for years there have appeared in *The Nation* criticisms of the Catholic church or the Catholic hierarchy for its stand or policy with respect to a number of problems [Franco, Perón, birth control, divorce, venereal disease, etc.]. . . . *During all* [*these*] *years* . . . The Nation's *editorial policies* [*were not*] *so much as discussed by the Board of Superintendents.* (Italics throughout Dr. Jansen's.)

It is obvious that these facts have an important bearing on the present controversy. *They constitute a prima facie case for the pronouncement of the* [*board*] *that* The Nation *was not eliminated because it criticized the political and social policies of the Roman Catholic church.* It is taken for granted that when the Catholic hierarchy or any other organization

Bryn J. Hovde

My answer is Yes!

Lewis Mumford

Having read your statement carefully, I must confess my profound disappointment over its content. . . . You have succeeded in convincing me that the actions of the board were ill-considered, and that the principles upon which you based those actions would, if carried further, undermine the foundations of democratic government in the United States. What is almost as disturbing, your manner of presenting your case, constitutes, in itself, an unfavorable commentary on your decision.

Reinhold Niebuhr

The distinction your board makes when it insists that it allows criticism of the public policies of churches but not of religion itself is a dangerous one, which has no validity in our American tradition. Religion itself must be subject to criticism. Some of the criticism will be unfair. Magazines which consistently print vituperation against religious groups certainly have no place in the schools. But if a responsible magazine is permanently banned because of the publication of a series of articles two of which deal with the religious as well as the political policies of a church, dozens of journals would have to fall under the same condemnation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

takes a stand on public issues, its policies and points of view are open to legitimate criticism. . . .

It must be evident to everybody that if the [board] resented criticisms of the Catholic church in the fields mentioned, it probably would never have listed *The Nation*, or would have eliminated it from the list some years ago. Again, these facts refute *The Nation's* contention that the board's action on June 8, 1948, was taken at the solicitation of the Catholic hierarchy. *Throughout all the years in which criticism of Catholic policies appeared in* The Nation, *the Catholic hierarchy did not try to influence the [board]. It is a fact that neither directly nor indirectly has a single member of the [board] been asked by anyone representing or pretending to represent the hierarchy to eliminate* The Nation.

[The statement presents a table showing that the first five articles by Paul Blanshard were published between November 1, 1947, and April 17, 1948; that on April 20, 1948, the board discussed those articles and authorized high-school principals "to withdraw from circulation any issue containing criticisms of religious practices"; that between April 24 and May 29, 1948, *The Nation* printed six more of the Blanshard articles, including a two-part article on Roman Catholic science—Relics, Saints, Miracles and Apparitions and Evolution. On June 1, 1948, according to the table, there was further discussion by the board of *The Nation's* articles. The final article in the series was published on June 5, and on June 8 there was "discussion by the Board of Superintendents, followed by the adoption of a motion to eliminate *The Nation* from the list of approved publications."]

It was pointed out [at the board meeting on April 20] that in some of the articles dealing with subjects of general interest, the author did not always keep within the limits of his subject but introduced a discussion of religious questions. For instance, in the November 1, 1947, issue . . . there is this sentence on page 466:

> The priests of the church impose upon all Roman Catholics a ritual for the dying . . . which makes the scene of death . . . an effective opportunity for proselytizing.

Are the prayers in the Book of Common Prayer "imposed" upon Episcopalians? Does the author really believe that one of the purposes of administering the sacrament of Extreme Unction is to obtain proselytes?

The issue of April 10, 1948, has [an] article on a subject of legitimate interest, The Roman Catholic Church and Fascism. But here again [page 391] it seemed to the [board] the author went at times beyond the limits of his subject. . . . Does the author mean to imply that fascism is based on Catholicism, or that only Catholic countries are fascist? Does he not know that our greatest totalitarian enemy, Germany, was more than two-thirds Protestant? Why does he drag in the fact that the Roman Catholic clergy on both sides blessed the Roman Catholic soldiers going into battle and perhaps to their death? Does he suppose that the Lutherans in the opposing forces were not blessed by the Lutheran clergy in their countries? . . .

At its meeting on June 1, 1948, the [board] . . . gave particular and careful consideration to the article published in the May 15, 1948, issue, entitled Roman Catholic Science—I: Relics, Saints, Miracles, and the article appearing in the

Bryn J. Hovde

This I readily believe. Certainly, then, the church itself has made no such subtle, difficult distinction between "religious belief" and its policy and practice. How could any church make this distinction?

Dale Dewitt

The sequence of events showing the date of appearance of The Nation's *articles and the action of the board is informative but not especially pertinent. The intended inference seems to be that the board was inclined to leniency.*

Nathan Frankel

In this case, you applied the reverse of your rules [on withdrawing single "objectionable" issues of a magazine]. The articles you object to may be read, but all future issues of The Nation *are forever barred, though unobjectionable in content. This seems a queer way of resolving the question.*

Dale Dewitt

The illustrations are not very persuasive, nor are the questions asked appropriate to the meaning of the original Blanshard statements.

William C. Menninger

I personally did not like and radically disagreed with the two articles which you particularly stress. It seems to me, however, that it is not only poor education but also undemocratic that the magazine, because of these articles, be banned from the schools. This action if carried to its logical conclusions, would be a suppression of the press and free speech.

Dale Dewitt

Irrelevant to the issue! It is to be assumed that the board would recognize the offensiveness of the articles to Catholic authorities and also that the board should be independent even if a protest were made; also that if the board were unduly sensitive to the Catholic influence this sensitivity would operate whether pressure was exerted or not.

Bryn J. Hovde

The dilemma of the board [in making a distinction between religious belief and practice] is clear from your own record, namely, that on April 20 1948, before *the appearance of even the first part of the article you cite as the sole reason for the ban, the board authorized high-school principals "to withdraw from circulation any issue containing criticism of religious practices."*

Harold Taylor

I agree that some of Mr. Blanshard's statements are, to a degree, impolite. . . . However, I believe that our youngsters and their teachers are sensible enough and strong enough to read anything which the editorial staff of The Nation *feels can be presented in its pages; the instances you cite cannot do harm in the degree necessary to require the removal of the magazine itself from the approved list of periodicals. . . . You are throwing the baby out with the bath water.*

Stanley I. Stuber

If the articles are in error, let the Roman Catholic church answer the charges. This is a matter for the theologians to decide. The public would greatly benefit from such an open discussion.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

May 22, 1948, issue, entitled Roman Catholic Science—II: Apparitions and Evolution. *It should be noted that when* The Nation *and its supporters describe the entire series of articles, they do so by mentioning the titles of practically all the articles except the two just mentioned. . . . And yet it was the publication of these two articles that led to the action taken by the Board of Superintendents.*

The Nation was eliminated by the Board of Superintendents because the two articles just mentioned did *not* deal with the policies of the Roman Catholic church with respect to public questions. These two articles are devoted to a criticism of Catholic beliefs, dogmas, and religious practices. Catholic beliefs and religious practices are not only criticized but are ridiculed by innuendo.

The [board] is of the opinion that it is contrary to the American public-school tradition to bring religious controversies into the classrooms of the public schools. Every responsible school superintendent and every responsible board of education will state that criticism of religious beliefs should not be carried on by our teachers of pupils, because the American public school is and always must be a unifying factor in American life. . . .

WHY DID NOT THE BOARD OF SUPERINTENDENTS ADHERE TO THE POLICY OF AUTHORIZING THE WITHDRAWAL OF SINGLE ARTICLES THAT ARE OBJECTIONABLE?

The question . . . was discussed. . . . It was decided that this policy . . . could no longer apply in the case of *The Nation*. It was obvious that, with the publication of the two articles referred to, the editorial policy of *The Nation* had been modified to permit the publication of articles that are an attack on the Catholic religion.

If, after the publication of these two articles, *The Nation* were continued on the list of authorized publications, the [board] would have to direct the principal of each school subscribing to have each issue of *The Nation* reviewed before permitting its circulation in the library. The [board] does not care to list publications that require a scrutiny of this kind.

In the issue of *The Nation* of August 7, 1948, there appeared a two-page appeal for funds to support *The Nation's* campaign against the decision of the [board]. In this appeal appeared the following paragraph. . . .

> They were not anti-religious articles. They dealt critically—but soberly and responsibly—with the attempts of the Roman Catholic hierarchy to exert influence in matters outside the religious sphere.

[There follow at some length extracts from pages 521, 522, and 523 of the issue of *The Nation* of May 15 and from pages 574 and 575 of the issue of May 22. The extracts are drawn from the two articles on Roman Catholic science and are intended to show that these articles constituted an attack on religious belief.]

Let the reader ask himself whether these two articles, constituting one-sixth of the series, deal "critically—but soberly and responsibly—with the attempts of the Roman Catholic hierarchy to exert influence in matters outside the religious sphere." . . .

(*Continued on inside back cover*)

Mildred M. Horton

Children should not have one whole area of vital experience marked off as untouchable.

Dale Dewitt

Since when is the validity of science and the scientific method not a public question?

Archibald MacLeish

Dr. Jansen discusses the teaching of religion in the classrooms—a point not at issue in this case.

Christopher LaFarge

This constitutes an evasion of the basic issue and seems to me quite unsupportable.

Nathan Frankel

This is really astonishing. One swallow does not make a summer. Two articles do not amount to a change in an editorial policy extending consistently and continuously over a fifty-year period.

William Rose Benet

I respect the Roman Catholic faith myself. . . . I read the Blanshard articles carefully, and they seemed to me to be legitimate comment, even if you did not agree with their conclusions. . . . The touch was light, the tone civilized.

Virginia Gildersleeve

Even though some of the articles might be obnoxious to Catholics, the total exclusion from our public schools of such a long-established and widely respected periodical . . . sets a dangerous precedent.

Leon Kroll

If anything in the articles considered particularly objectionable is not true, it can surely be refuted by the very brilliant writers within the Catholic church. In regard to the practices, the church has good reasons for many of them. They give comfort to millions of people who have no other spiritual outlet.

Albert Einstein

Young people should have the opportunity to read everything which could help them to form an independent judgment.

Bryn J. Hovde

Everything pertinent to American culture should be "studied and criticized," and that certainly includes religious beliefs. . . . I would consider it wrong for the public schools to practice or permit favoring one set of religious beliefs over another, or to give special protection in the library to the beliefs of any one sect.

Dale Dewitt

To pretend that The Nation *must be expected, because of the Blanshard articles, frequently to print anti-religious articles is an extreme decision. One is inclined to conclude that the board is eager to find some way to eliminate* The Nation. *Is it unfair to speculate on whether the forthrightness of* The Nation *on public issues has not given the board a desire to exploit a pretext to ban all its issues?*

Stanley I. Stuber:

I fear Dr. Jansen is trying to take away an important element in our freedom of religion. The freedom of seeking and finding is essential to true religion. Religion has nothing to fear from criticism, only from those who would protect it from criticism.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Franco Spain: "E. R. P. or Bust"

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Hendaye, November 10

ON THIS visit to the Spanish frontier I did not experience quite the intense emotional shock of last spring, when I went down to the International Bridge for the first time in nine years. Yet again I saw and heard things to make one cry out in indignation against the politics that perpetuate Spain's infamous dictatorship. The night before my arrival a handful of Asturian guerrillas making their way to the Pyrenees had run into a patrol of the Guardia Civil just a few miles inside the border. That night they managed to communicate with one of our men on the French side. Then two long days passed without another sign from them except the distant echo of rifle fire. On the third night the guerrillas fought their way through. They crossed the border carrying submachine-guns and boxes of ammunition, with knapsacks of food strapped to their backs and hand grenades hanging from their belts. Shortly afterward I spoke with some of these men; they had come on a special mission and were already making plans to go back to Spain and continue the struggle.

Another very different group of people crossed the frontier almost at the same time—farmers with their wives and children, some from places as far distant as Cáceres in the south. One family had somehow lost two children on the mountain pass, a girl of nine and a little boy of six. The mother was threatening to commit suicide. So one of our best men set out from the French side in search of the youngsters and the next day brought them safely across. These people were not guerrillas—just simple peasants fleeing from hunger. They gave me a piece of bread the size of a small roll and said it was their day's ration. I brought it back to Paris with me to show to some of the U. N. delegates who ridicule the idea of misery in Spain. From all the new arrivals I heard stories of starvation and terror, hatred of Britain and the United States, affection for the Soviet Union.

REPORTS of Spain's worsening economic situation are not new, but I think they deserve some detailed analysis. One of the keys to the continuing crisis is undoubtedly the chaotic state of the railroads. In an article last spring I described the appalling traveling conditions in Spain: how trains took twice the scheduled time; how travelers often had to crawl through the windows to get aboard the cars, jammed solid with people and luggage. Passengers were frequently obliged to pay not only the normal fare but the inevitable *estraperlo* (black market) tip as well. Since then, I am told, conditions have become still more frightful owing to the deterioration of rolling stock from lack of repairs and, in part, from sabotage. This creeping paralysis of transport has seriously affected domestic trade, agriculture, and the food supply in cities.

Contrary to optimistic official figures, the percentage of land under cultivation is steadily decreasing. Farmers are not interested in planting large crops only to see them rot in the railway depots; instead they are raising just enough to feed their families and to exchange for goods in the nearest black market. Moreover, there is an acute shortage of fertilizer; the Franco government is exporting nitrates in order to get badly needed foreign currency. For the same reason it is shipping to the United States the bulk of Spain's olive oil, leaving the Spanish people almost entirely without fats.

Business and industry, too, have been in bad straits for several months. Business men find themselves the victims of a peculiarly galling swindle. In a much-publicized campaign against the racketeers of the black market the government is imposing heavy fines and using the money to finance its own large-scale *estraperlo* operations. This privileged black market sells a wide variety of scarce products at prices far above the legal rate. The system for milking the manufacturers is somewhat more elaborate. No doubt industrialists grew rich during the war years, but they are penalized now. With their factories almost at a standstill because of the shortage of raw materials and their labor force often idle three days out of the week, they are nevertheless compelled to pay their workers for full time. In this way Franco keeps down the amount required for unemployed benefits. It might be an excellent idea if it were part of a coherent economic plan. But one thing which distinguishes Spanish totalitarianism from the systems of Mussolini and Hitler is the total absence of planning.

While certain basic industries are largely idle, many non-essential ones are operating at full capacity thanks to favors from some high official or other who may own shares in them. The Ministry of Industry and Commerce has built up a thriving racket of its own by selling import licenses for raw materials; even the department's typists and file clerks share in the "commissions." It is fairly common for a good-looking woman employee to go home in the evening with several thousand pesetas in her pocketbook, or with a new coat, or a valuable jewel, which some business man has given her for pushing his priority claim to the top of the list.

The regime counted on its commercial agreements

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with Argentina to tide it over until Washington could work Spain into the U. N. and the E. R. P. However, Perón has few extra dollars to lend his Spanish colleague and, besides, is beginning to have financial worries of his own now that Argentina's war boom is over. Indeed, it is questionable whether Argentina will be able to fulfil the trade accord reached with Spain early this year. But Perón has hit on a scheme to compensate Franco for possible delays in delivery: when Foreign Miniser Martin Artajo visited Buenos Aires recently, Perón signed a promise to provide a haven for Franco and his chieftains in the event of the Spanish regime's collapse. Under the terms of this latest agreement Spain's biggest *estraperlistas* will continue to cache their profits in Argentina (they used to "bank" in Ireland). But more significant than the flight of capital is the proposed flight of men. A special clause provides in effect that Spaniards of military age may serve their period of training in the Argentine army. Through this system of legalized desertion, Franco believes that if his regime is one day overthrown he can send his Falangists to safety in Argentina, there to prepare for a future comeback. Moreover, Perón has agreed to receive some 200,000 Spanish emigrants over a certain period. (All this confirms my repeated warnings that Argentina has become the headquarters and training ground for fascist elements from all countries.)

BUT while the pact with Perón may save some Falangists, it will not prevent the collapse of Franco's economy. According to reliable estimates Spain must have some $700,000,000 immediately. That explains Franco's all-out drive to force his way into the U. N. this year and thus become eligible for aid under the Marshall Plan. It is literally a case of "E. R. P. or Bust."

The British have seized this moment to press the Caudillo for new economic concessions. For their part they cast the deciding vote in the U. N. Juridical Commission a few days ago for a resolution which may prove the opening wedge to gain Spain's admission to the international organization. Their action caused even Léon Blum, usually so tolerant of his Labor friends, to chide Mr. Bevin severely in *Le Populaire*. Now a British mission consisting of representatives of the Exchequer, the Board of Trade, and the Food Ministry is in Madrid negotiating a commercial agreement to replace the present accord, which expires in two months. The British believe they will be able to get advantageous terms from Franco, for he has already granted them partial use of some strategic bases and ports under unusually generous conditions. And they are confident that any caretaker government which succeeds him will feel bound to honor the agreement. The Labor government's policy on Spain makes real Socialists blush with shame.

The Cáceres peasants told me they earn about 10 pesetas a day—a miserable wage even by Franco stand-

Käthe Kollwitz Courtesy Touchstone Press

ards. The average wage in the cities is about 18 pesetas a day. The ration of a basic food like potatoes has varied greatly in the past year: between November, 1947, and March, 1948, the quantity was fixed at two kilos per person per week—little enough in view of the scarcity of other rationed products; in March only a kilo a week was available; between April and July potatoes disappeared from the ration list completely; since then Spaniards have been permitted to buy a kilo a week. The fat ration is fixed at 250 grams a month, usually of some unpalatable substitute for olive oil. The olive growers do manage to siphon a little oil to the *estraperlistas* at a wholesale price of 6 pesetas a liter; the latter in turn retail it for 18 to 20 pesetas in Madrid and as much as 22 pesetas in Bilbao and Barcelona. A kilo of *garbanzos* (chick peas) costs 10 to 12 pesetas, lentils 8, rice 10. Meat is rationed at 150 to 200 grams per person per week; on the black market its price is prohibitive. Canned foods are scarce and are sold at prices far beyond the means of most Spaniards. Tinned sardines go to the export market, as no doubt American consumers can testify.

It is not only hunger but cold which belies the posters inviting foreigners to "the land of sunshine and oranges." Soria, for example, has days colder than New York's worst. In the winter of 1946-47, which was comparatively mild, the Sorians received two forty-kilo distributions of coal, or rather pressed coaldust, one in November and the other in March. In the coming winter coal will be practically unobtainable. Spain produces coal, particularly in León and Asturias, but the bulk of it goes at present to Portugal. Moreover, coal production is hopelessly disorganized owing to lack of equipment

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and to sabotage. This is true of the mining industry as a whole. Before the war Spain used to produce 1,300,000 tons of pyrite annually; now the annual output is only 700,000 tons, and it will drop further if the mines do not obtain new extraction machinery.

Spanish canners are even selling their tin supplies to Portuguese colleagues in order to have a little currency in reserve across the border. Indeed, everyone who has business connections abroad is trying desperately to build up a nest egg of dollars somewhere.

Middle-class Spaniards are little better off than the workers and peasants. In Paris I recently had a talk, in deep secrecy, with a government functionary from Madrid who had expressed a desire to see me. His salary was raised not long ago from 700 to 900 pesetas a month, which sounded like a decent income. But bread has gone up so much on the black market that he now spends 15 to 20 pesetas a day on bread alone for his family of several small children, leaving about 10 pesetas to cover the rest of the daily food, together with clothing, gas, rent, and other household expenses.

How, then, do the people manage to live? They starve, or they have several jobs, or they take to stealing.

The police themselves—the Guardia Civil—are not exempt from the struggle for survival. The honest ones don civilian clothes on their day off and find work building roads or gathering the harvest. The less scrupulous go into the black market. Carabineros on border duty to prevent smuggling make it a common practice to sneak into France to buy food for their families and for resale in the black market.

In recent months stealing has become a major form of employment in Spain. The former trade-union leaders cannot stop the young workers from stealing materials in the factories where they work. Sometimes the thefts are deliberate sabotage against the regime, but more often they are the means of obtaining bread or medicine. Nails, machine parts, leather soles for shoes, electric bulbs—all the little articles a worker can hide under his jacket—find their way into the black market. I am told that one day in a single hour some 6,000 nails were sold in the *Rastro,* Madrid's famous flea market. The old union leaders are deeply concerned over the effect these practices may have on the morals of the Spanish proletariat.

Despite the various supplements to the daily ration—food bought through the *estraperlo,* smuggled across the border, or stolen—the people are still hungry. The real story of their suffering can be read in the hospitals and prisons. A young doctor now in France said to me: "I've never been active in politics. But after what I saw this past year in the Madrid hospitals I feel like joining, not the Socialists, but rather the Anarchists or Communists. Tuberculosis is ravaging the country. Food poisoning is now a common childhood ailment, brought on by eating stuff found in garbage pails. Ours has become the land of walking death."

If I sound too emotional or biased, I wish Americans could read an article by the well-known English author H. E. Bates, which appeared in the London *News Chronicle* of November 8 under the title So This Is Spain Today. Mr. Bates said, among other things, "Wherever I went I was reminded more and more of Africa, of Persia, of Egypt, and, most of all, of India: the same painful and violent contrast between rich and poor, between the loveliness of the sky and the shocking misery of the earth."

I THINK it is time, too, for Americans to hear the facts about Spanish prisons. On September 4 of this year a group of some fifty women and children were caught trying to cross into France. They were all sent to prison. Their leader, a young woman of thirty, was asked for the names of the "reds" who had organized the expedition. When she refused to answer, the guards built a fire around her legs to force a "confession." Such barbarism recalls the blackest incidents of the Spanish Inquisition. But what has Spain today if not a new Inquisition?

The present inquisitors have the approval of the Spanish hierarchy, which apparently still believes in the purifying qualities of the auto-da-fe. After Spain has been freed, let not American Catholics revive the old tales about atheistic Republicans burning churches! Not once has the Spanish church raised its voice against the Franco terror. At the frontier for the first time I heard devout Catholic women from the Basque country condemn the attitude of their village priests.

In this connection the American chargé d'affaires at Madrid deserves a word of praise. Mr. Culbertson has tried hard to get the Franco authorities to end the repression. I am certain his motives are humanitarian as well as political. Privately he admits that his démarches have thus far been unsuccessful. Executions continue unabated; last week eight more resistants were condemned to death in Barcelona. The execution on November 6 of Antonio Seoane and José Gomez Gayoso shows the lengths Franco will go to wipe out opposition. These men were killed in contemptuous disregard of protests from many delegates to the Assembly and from democratic organizations throughout Europe and the Americas. If Franco persists in such public acts of terror at a time when he is trying to win admission to the U. N. agencies, it is easy to imagine what goes on in Spain when the United Nations is not meeting. Recently the government thought up a scheme to meet Western criticisms about its enormous prison population: it plans to ship a number of prisoners to the island of Fuenteventura, which lacks even drinking water, and from there to Spanish Guiana. It was not able to effect the transfers before the U. N.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

meeting in Paris but hopes to shortly. Even the well-to-do are beginning to murmur that things cannot go on this way.

To judge by the newspapers stories, Senator Gurney, James Farley, Eric Johnston, and various tourists have reported that Spain is one of the happiest countries in Europe. One might think that if one stayed at the Ritz or the Palace Hotel, where the cream of Madrid's social set gathers. Two years ago, when new automobiles were still scarce in America, Cadillacs and other luxury cars were a common sight in the Spanish capital. And if the market for mink coats declines in New York, furriers need only send them to Madrid—the *estraperlistas* can afford anything.

WHEN I said above that the Spaniards hate the United States, I meant the policy of the United States government, not the people. On the rare occasions when American statesmen have condemned the Franco regime there has been an immediate revival of sympathy for the Yanquis. And while President Truman's victory carried no promise of a change of policy toward Spain, still it caused joy in Spanish Republican circles and dismay in the Franco entourage. Today most Spaniards feel that only the threat of a Soviet veto prevents the pro-Franco forces from waging an intensive campaign to get the Dictator into the United Nations. They know that an eastern country, Poland, has put the question of economic sanctions on the U. N. agenda. They know, too, about the action of the British delegate in the Juridical Commission and the efforts of the American delegation, working through the Latin American countries, to slip Spain into some of the specialized agencies. Consequently even moderate Spaniards are turning more and more toward the Soviet Union.

Inside Spain the people are beginning to conclude that only direct action will liberate their country. However, I hope my opening paragraph did not give readers the impression that every mountain range is honeycombed with guerrillas. Their number has dropped off considerably over the years, partly because of the severity of the repression and partly because until recently even the Resistance believed the Republic might be restored through the action of the Western democracies. But as fighters quit, other men take to the hills, driven by hunger and hatred of fascism. Their numbers will swell again as Spaniards come more and more to realize that the solution lies neither in Washington nor in London but in open revolt against Franco. The lessons of the Greek and Palestinian armies of liberation have not been lost on the Spanish people. Spain gave them the first example; now it is learning again from them.

Britain's Battle of Steel

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

SINCE it took office in July, 1945, the British Labor government has been steadily attacked by the opposition, not for neglecting its election pledges, but for insisting on fulfilling them. As one after another the industries listed for prospective public ownership in the Labor Party platform were nationalized, Tory indignation mounted. And now, with publication of the bill for nationalization of the iron-and-steel industry, it has reached an almost hysterical pitch.

"Let Us Face the Future," the manifesto on which the Labor Party won its great majority, included the following paragraph:

> *Public Ownership of Iron and Steel:* Private monopoly has maintained high prices and kept inefficient high-cost plants in existence. Only if public ownership replaces private monopoly can the industry become efficient.

There was never any good reason to suppose that the government would jettison the policy indicated by this statement. In May, 1947, it introduced and carried in the House of Commons a motion reaffirming the principle of public ownership of iron and steel; in the fall of 1947 the Prime Minister specifically declared that a bill for this purpose would be presented to the Commons in time to allow passage before the present Parliament terminated in 1950. Nevertheless, wishfully thinking Tory newspapers long assiduously spread reports that the government was hopelessly split on the issue and would back down. When the falsity of this story became obvious, its propagators fell back on rumors that nationalization of steel was being forced on a reluctant Cabinet by a small group of "left-wing" ministers headed by Aneurin Bevan.

Last summer when I was in Britain I talked to a number of ministers of various shades of opinion about steel and found no evidence to support these tales of Cabinet division. What was made clear to me was that while the government was firmly convinced of the desirability of nationalizing steel, it was giving long and anxious consideration to the best method of achieving this end. The industry is much more complex than any of those previously tackled. It covers a wide variety of processes and products. It includes a few very large concerns, most of which are vertical combines starting

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with raw materials and shading off into the engineering industries, and also many small specialist units.

The opponents of nationalization relied on two arguments. In the first place, they asserted, it would be fatal to disrupt the key industry in the battle of production, an industry which was operating most efficiently, exceeding its output targets, and enjoying unusually good labor relations. Their second point was that since many iron-and-steel concerns were involved in the engineering, chemical, and other industries, nationalization would automatically take the government into fields where it would compete with private enterprise.

The Procrustean nature of these arguments is now being illustrated. The government, having paid its respects to the first by taking over all large iron-and-steel companies as going concerns, is now accused of exceeding its mandate, which, say its critics, referred strictly to iron and steel. Yet if the nationalization bill had attempted to separate iron-and-steel manufacture from ancillary activities, often carried on in the same plants, the industry would have been torn apart and its smooth operation seriously disturbed.

Disregarding the makers of fine distinctions, the government has applied common sense to the task of defining the iron-and-steel industry for purposes of nationalization. Its bill provides for public ownership of 107 companies whose main activities include the mining of iron ore, the manufacture of pig iron and steel, and the operation of hot rolling mills. A few of these companies are subsidiaries of concerns outside the industry, in which case they will be separated from their parent bodies. Thus Vickers, the armament firm, is not nationalized, but its large subsidiary, the English Steel Corporation, is.

According to the *Financial Times* (London) of October 30, 97.5 per cent of ore-mining firms, 97.6 per cent of firms engaged in smelting, 99.3 per cent of those dealing with steel ingots, and 93.6 per cent of the hot rollers are to be acquired by the British Iron and Steel Corporation, the new holding company which will represent the state.

Corporations taken over are to retain their own names, brands, and present legal entities and will publish separate accounts. Their directors will be subject to appointment by the corporation, but it is hoped that in most cases present boards will stay on the job. They will have a free hand in operating matters but will be required to conform to plans developed by the corporation, which in turn will be subject to directions from the Minister of Supply on "questions of broad national interest."

The Minister of Supply will also name the chairman of the corporation and not fewer than four or more than ten directors, who are to be men of wide experience and proved capacity in the industry itself, in other business fields, or in the organization of workers. They cannot be members of Parliament and must sever any financial or other interests which might conflict with their work. The primary task of the corporation will be to provide iron and steel at prices, and in quantities and qualities, best suited to the public interest. It is also required to secure that, taking one year with another, its revenues, combined with those of the publicly owned companies, suffice to cover all current expenses.

IN SPITE of all the fuss and fury the bill has aroused, there is a good deal of common ground between the government and its opponents. It is generally agreed that the British steel industry must be reorganized, re-equipped, and expanded, and that these objectives cannot be achieved under conditions of free competitive enterprise. The steelmasters and their Tory supporters denounce "monopoly" under public ownership, but they wish to retain the industry's present cartelized structure.

In the early thirties most British steel concerns were in a very low state. They were suffering not only from the depression but from a hangover following a speculative jag based on profits made during World War I and the first post-Armistice years. Many of them had been taken over by the banks and put through the wringer. In 1933, however, their prospects brightened. After Britain's return to protection the steel industry obtained a 33⅓ per cent tariff on condition that it reorganized. The central feature of this "reorganization" was the establishment of the British Iron and Steel Federation as the effective controller of the industry. With the active encouragement of the Tory government of the day it adopted all the favorite devices of restrictive monopoly—production quotas, standard prices, loyalty rebates, and so forth. It decided how much foreign steel should be permitted to enter the country and took over its distribution. It negotiated a treaty with the International Steel Cartel providing for a division of markets.

In a book published in 1939 Geoffrey Crowther, now editor of the *Economist* and an opponent of steel nationalization, asserted:

> The result of conservative steel policy has been to confer enormous advantages on the business men of the industry. They have been granted a monopoly and assured of its exclusivity and permanence; and they have been encouraged to use it to raise prices for their product. The policy has beyond question put large profits into the pockets of the steel shareholders. . . . But the return the community has received for this assistance could hardly be detected with a microscope.

Shortly before the general election of 1945 the British Iron and Steel Federation was asked by the National government to draft a program for post-war reconstruction of the industry. A year later it presented proposals for an eight-year scheme which provided for a moderate

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

total expansion of the industry, for large-scale replacement of obsolete facilities, and for concentration of certain types of output at the most favorable locations. Technically, these plans appeared to be sound as a whole, but they left unanswered three vital questions:

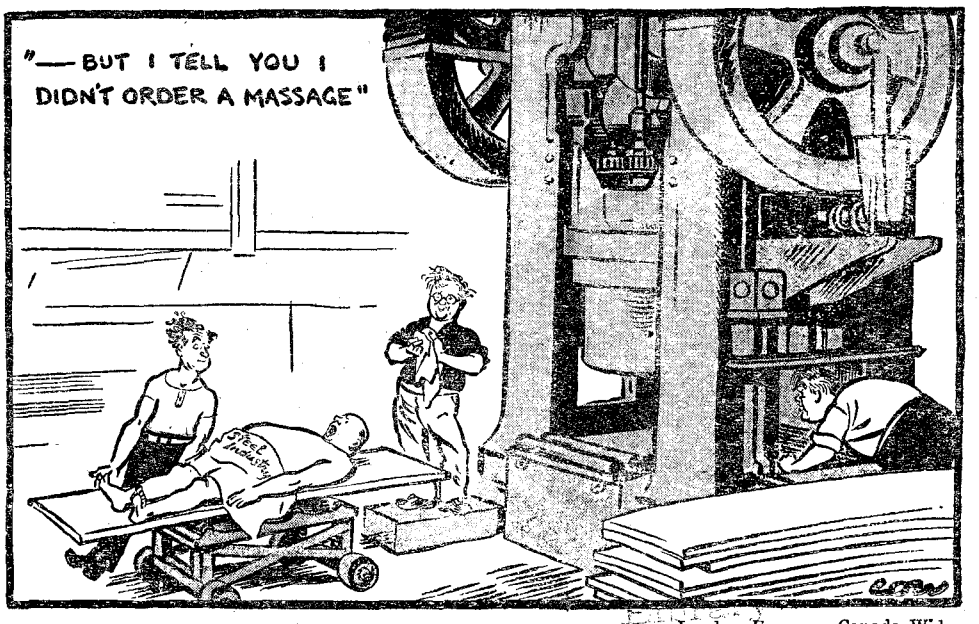
1. *Who would exercise the coercive power which the scheme implied?* There are now, for instance, eleven plants in Britain, belonging to different companies, producing heavy steel rails. The federation proposes to concentrate output of this product in four plants, which would certainly make for increased efficiency. But what if some rail manufacturers refuse to cooperate? It would seem that the federation is in fact not in a position to force compliance with its plans, and that to carry them out it would need to be endowed with a degree of authority quite improper for a private organization.

2. *Are the federation's plans calculated to provide a sufficiency of steel for British needs?* With revisions made recently they assume a probable maximum demand of 18,000,000 tons in the mid-fifties. This compares with a total demand of about 14,000,000 tons in 1937, but it is to be noted that domestic consumption in that year, 11,500,000 tons, was 5,000,000 tons greater than in 1927. On this basis, and with full-employment policies actively pursued, home demand by 1953 should exceed 20,000,000 tons, and with a world-wide steel famine, much bigger exports than allowed for by the federation should be possible. It is true, given present shortages of labor and materials, that the federation's estimates may conform with the maximum possible expansion of capacity in the next few years. But it defends its proposals not on that ground but with the aid of dubious assumptions about the course of demand, and it is here that the cloven heel of monopoly is revealed.

3. *Can reequipment and expansion of the industry be financed from private sources?* The estimated capital cost of the federation program was $672,000,000 at 1946 prices. It was stated that about half this sum could be found internally by the industry provided that the Treasury was willing to increase depreciation allowances. The balance, it was suggested, could be obtained from investors, and perhaps it could if continuance of the present monopoly profits of the industry were assured. But that would require government underwriting of the permanence of the federation's autonomous economic kingdom in return for some supervision of prices. How effective such control could be is questionable, for it is evident that the industry would strive to adjust capacity to minimum rather than maximum demand. And as long as every ton of capacity is needed, prices would obviously be kept high enough to afford a profit to the least efficient plants, since they would otherwise shut down.

Britain's war effort was handicapped by shortage of steel, and so now is its peace effort. Lack of steel is a prime factor in slowing internal reconstruction; lack of steel limits the expansion of exports at a time when the most pressing requirement of foreign markets is machinery and other capital goods. If full employment is to be maintained in Britain—and that, don't forget, is promised by all parties—an adequate supply of steel at reasonable prices is absolutely essential. It is doubtful whether any British government could afford to allow the final decisions on that point to rest with a private monopoly. Certainly a Labor government cannot, and that is why it has essayed the difficult task of bringing the major part of the industry under public ownership.

It is worth noting, however, that both the method and the time-table adopted make it possible for the electorate to reverse the decision. The bill provides that the "vesting date" when the 107 companies will be taken over is to be May 1, 1950, or a later day, fixed by the Minister of Supply, not more than eighteen months after passage of the act. A general election must take place before June, 1950, and is quite likely to be in April or May of that year. Consequently, if the voters return to power the Tory Party, which has declared it will denationalize steel, there will be little difficulty in undoing what has been done. Since the bill leaves intact the units to be acquired by the state, the question of unscrambling the eggs will not arise. It will be interesting to learn, however, what substitute dish the Tories will offer the public.



London *Express*—Canada Wide

East Tennessee State College
Johnson City, Tennessee

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

THE CRITIC'S ROLE*

BY CLIVE BELL

ALREADY I am in a scrape with the critics. I am in a scrape for having said, a couple of years ago, that a critic was nothing but a signpost, and for having added, somewhat later, that he was a fallible signpost at that. So now I take the opportunity of explaining that what I said, if rightly understood, was perfectly civil and obliging.

To recall what I did say: I said that critics exist for the public, and that it is no part of their business to help artists with good advice. I argued that a critic no more exists for artists than a palaeontologist does for the dinosaurs on whose fossils he expatiates, and that, though artists happen to create those exciting objects which are the matter of a critic's discourse, that discourse is all for the benefit of the critic's readers. For these, I said, he is to procure aesthetic pleasures: and his existence is made necessary by the curious fact that, though works of art are charged with a power of provoking extraordinarily intense and desirable emotions, the most sensitive people are often incapable of experiencing them until a jog or a drop of stimulant even has been given to their appreciative faculties.

A critic should be a guide and an animator. His it is, first to bring his reader into the presence of what he believes to be art, then to cajole or bully him into a receptive frame of mind. He must, therefore, besides conviction, possess a power of persuasion and stimulation: and if anyone imagines that these are common or contemptible gifts, he mistakes. It would, of course, be much nicer to think that the essential part of a critic's work was the discovery and glorification of Absolute Beauty; only, unluckily, it is far from certain that absolute beauty exists, and more unlikely, if it does, that any human being can distinguish it from what is relative. The wiser course, therefore, is to ask of critics no more than sincerity, and to leave divine certitude to superior beings—magistrates, for instance, and curates, and fathers of large families, and Mr. Bernard Shaw. At any rate, it is imprudent, I am sure, in us critics to maintain so stoutly as we are apt to do that when we call a work of art "good" we do not mean simply that we like it with passion and conviction but that it is absolutely so, seeing that the more sensitive people of one age have ever extolled some things which the most sensitive of another have cried down, and have cried down what others have extolled. . . . No critic can be sure that what he likes has absolute value; and it is a mark of mere silliness to suppose that what he dislikes can have no value at all. Neither is there any need of certainty. A critic must have sincerity and conviction—he must be convinced of the genuineness of his own feelings. Never may he pretend to feel more or less or something other than what he does feel; and what he feels he should be able to express and even, to some extent, account for. Finally he must have the power of infecting others with his own enthusiasm. Anyone who possesses these qualities and can do these things I call a good critic.

"And what about discrimination?" says someone, "What about the very meaning of the word?" Certainly discriminations between artists, between the parts and qualities of a work of art, and between one's own reactions, are important instruments of criticism; but they are not the only ones, nor I believe are they indispensable. At any rate, if the proper end of criticism be the fullest appreciation of art, if the function of a critic be the stimulation of the reader's power of comprehending and enjoying, all means to that end must be good. The rest of this essay will be devoted to a consideration of the means most commonly employed.

Discriminating critics, as opposed to those other two great classes—the Impressionistic and the Biographical—are peculiar in this amongst other things: they alone extract light from refuse and deal profitably with bad art. I am not going back on my axiom—The proper end of criticism is appreciation: but I must observe that one means of stimulating a taste for what is most excellent is an elaborate dissection of what is not. . . . The discriminating critic is not afraid of classifying artists and putting them in their places. Analysis is one of his most precious instruments. He will pose the question—"Why is Milton a great poet?"—and will proceed to disengage certain definite qualities, the existence of which can be proved by demonstration and handled objectively with almost scientific precision.

This sort of criticism was brought to perfection in the eighteenth century; and certainly it did sometimes lead critics quite out of sight and reach of the living spirit of poetry. It was responsible for masses of amazing obtuseness (especially in criticism of the visual arts); it was the frequent cause of downright silliness; it made it possible for Dr. Johnson, commenting on the line "Time and the hour runs through the roughest day," to "suppose every reader is disgusted at the Tautology": but it performed the immense service of stimulating enthusiasm for clear thought and exact expression. These discriminating and objective critics will always be particularly useful to those whose intellects dominate their emotions, and who need some sort of intellectual jolt to set their aesthetic sensibilities going. . . .

It is inexact to say that the nineteenth century invented impressionist criticism;

* This essay is reprinted from the volume "Since Cézanne," with the permission of the publishers, Chatto and Windus, London. The essay was written in 1922 and appeared that year in a supplement on criticism in the *New Republic*.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

but it was in the later years of that century that impressionism became self-conscious and pompous enough to array itself in a theory. The method everyone knows: the critic clears his mind of general ideas, of canons of art, and, so far as possible, of all knowledge of good and evil; he gets what emotions he can from the work before him, and then confides them to the public. He does not attempt to criticize in the literal sense of the word; he merely tells us what a book, a picture, or a piece of music made him feel. This method can be intensely exciting; what is more, it has made vast additions to our aesthetic experience. It is the instrument that goes deepest: sometimes it goes too deep, passes clean through the object of contemplation, and brings up from the writer's own consciousness something for which in the work itself no answerable provocation is to be found. This leads, of course, to disappointment and vexation, or else to common dishonesty, and can add nothing to the reader's appreciation. On the other hand, there are in some works of art subtleties and adumbrations hardly to be disentangled by any other means. In much of the best modern poetry—since Dante and Chaucer I mean—there are beauties which would rarely have been apprehended had not someone, throwing the whole apparatus of objective criticism aside, vividly described, not the beauties themselves, but what they made him feel. And I will go so far as to admit that, in a work of art, there may be qualities significant and precious but so recondite and elusive that we shall hardly grasp them unless some adventurer, guided by his own experience, can trace their progress and show us their roots in the mind from which they sprang.

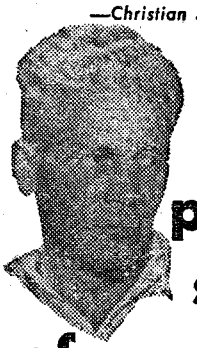
Impressionistic criticism of literature is not much approved nowadays. . . . But it has got a bad name by keeping low company; for it has come to be associated with those journalistic reviewers who describe, not the feeling and ideas provoked in them by reading a book, but what they thought and felt and did at or about the time they were supposed to be reading it. These are the chatterboxes who will tell you how they got up, cut themselves shaving, ate sausage, spilt the tea, and nearly missed the train in which they began to read the latest work of Benedetto Croce, which, unluckily, having got into conversation with a pretty typist or a humorous bagman, they quite forgot, left in the carriage, and so can tell you no more about. But this is not impressionism; it is mere vulgarity.

If in literary criticism the impressionist method is falling into disfavor, in the criticism of music and painting it holds the field. Nor is this surprising: to write objectively about a symphony or a picture, to seize its peculiar intrinsic qualities and describe them exactly in words, is a feat beyond the power of most. Wherefore, as a rule, the unfortunate critic must either discourse on history, archaeology, and psychology, or chatter about his own feelings. . . .

Just at present it is the thing to laugh at biographical and historical critics, a class of which Sainte-Beuve is the obvious representative, and to which belong such writers as Taine and Francesco de Sanctis and all who try to explain works of art by describing their social and political circumstances. "At any rate," it is said, "these are not *critics*." I shall not quarrel over words; but I am persuaded that, when they care genuinely for books and have a gift of exposition, these perform the same function as their more aesthetically-minded brethren. I am sure that a causerie by Sainte-Beuve often sends a reader, with a zest he had never found unaided, to a book he had never opened unadvised. There are plenty of men and women, equipped to relish the finest and subtlest things in literature, who can hardly come at a book save through its author, or at an author save through the story of his life and a picture of his surroundings; wherefore few things do more to promote and disseminate a taste for art and letters and, I will add, for all things of the spirit, than biographical and historical criticism and the discussion of tendencies and ideas.

And this brings me to my conclusion. Though the immediate object of criticism is to put readers in the way of appreciating fully a work or works in the merit of which the critic believes, its ultimate value lies further afield in more general effects. Good criticism not only puts people in the way of appreciating particular works; it makes them feel, it makes them remember, what intense and surprising pleasures are peculiar to the life of the spirit. For these it creates an appetite, and keeps that appetite sharp: and I would seriously advise anyone who complains that his taste for reading has deserted him to take a dip into the great critics and biographers and see whether they will not send him back to his books. For, though books, pictures, and music stand charged with a mysterious power of delighting and exciting and enhancing the value of life; though they are the keys that unlock the door to the world of the spirit—the world that is best

"STUART CHASE'S
long-awaited report on the progress of the social sciences may well prove to be one of the most influential books of the decade."
—Christian Science Monitor



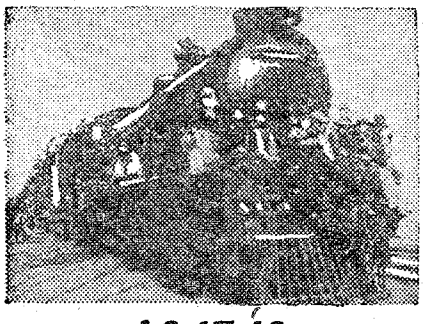
the proper study of mankind
An Inquiry into the Science of Human Relations

"A challenging and hopeful book that charts in layman terms the way out of some of the jungles of modern living. . . . I don't know when I have read a more intriguing book of practical inquiry into social problems."—*Cleveland News.*

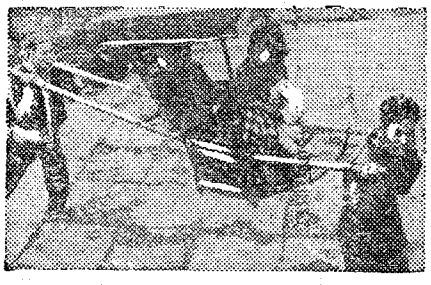
At all bookstores • $3.50
HARPER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A CLEAR, NON-POLITICAL, OBJECTIVE ACCOUNT OF CHINA



AS IT IS...



AND AS IT WAS...

CHINA becomes more important every day. Its tremendous wealth of natural resources and its virtually untapped market of 500 million customers make it one of the most important factors in world economy.

This book was written for Americans who need a complete and dependable picture of conditions in China today: businessmen, educators, students, statesmen and travelers. Every element of Chinese life is described in detail—education, transportation, communication, commerce, industry, agriculture.

Harrison Forman, a correspondent for *The New York Times*, spent many years in China, visited every section of the country. Wherever he went he took his camera, and 250 illuminating photographs are included.

CHANGING China

by HARRISON FORMAN

Author of REPORT FROM RED CHINA

At all bookstores, $4.00

Crown PUBLISHERS, N. Y.

worth living in—busy men and women soon forget. It is for critics to be ever jogging their memories. Theirs it is to point the road and hold open the unlocked doors. In that way they become officers in the kingdom of the spirit or, to use a humbler and preferable term, essential instruments of culture.

The Cardinal Fact

MUSIC AND CRITICISM. A Symposium. Edited by Richard F. French. Harvard University Press. $3.

READING over these addresses a year after I heard them delivered, I have confirmed my initial impression that the majority are wholly irrelevant to the central tasks of music criticism. This is due, as I now see, not merely to the fact that some of the symposiasts have *no clear idea of the distinction* between criticism and historical or technical learning, but also to an essential failure of direction on the part of the Harvard Music Department in its choice of topics and contributors.

Ostensibly the addresses fall within three groups: those of E. M. Forster and Roger Sessions were intended to deal with problems of a "general and philosophical nature"; those of Edgar Wind, Virgil Thomson, and Olga Samaroff were to consider individual works of art from the respective standpoints of the creator, interpreter, and audience; those of Otto Kinkeldey, Paul H. Lang, and Huntington Cairns were to treat of such "technical matters of immediate importance" as the consequences of recorded performance, the equipment of the musical journalist, and the future of musical patronage in America.

The only issue which is argued explicitly by members of the Symposium is the question of the role of criticism in artistic creation. The two principal controversialists on this question are Forster and Wind. According to the former, although "technical ingenuity and worldly knowledge" are part of the necessary antecedent equipment of the artist, they are taken for granted in the act of creation, in which the artist "lets down, as it were, a bucket into the subconscious, and drags up something which is normally beyond his reach." There is, of course, an important vein of truth in this. But Forster has raised a false issue when he speaks of the famous opium dream in which Coleridge conceived Kubla Khan as a "perfect" example of the creative process. The point is that the only valid test of perfection in artistic creation, as Forster himself would be the first to admit, is the intrinsic quality of the result. Had Wind replied in this way he would have scored a real point against the weakest thing in Forster's witty and modest and fine address. As it is, he devotes his attention to showing inconclusively that some artists, such as Raphael, display great erudition in their works and that others, such as Blake, produce better work when they exercise "conscious control" than when they merely transcribe their "visions."

The real issue at stake in the Symposium is concerned not with the artist's methods of creation, which the evidence shows to be enormously variable both in degree of spontaneity and in motivation, but rather with the function of criticism in relation to the work of art. *It is here that the contributors reveal* differences which are of the first importance both for the practice of criticism and for the future of musical education in general. On the one side, Forster, Sessions, and Thomson, all of whom are artists in their own right, focus at once upon the fact that the central task of criticism is defined by the aesthetic purpose of musical art, its purpose, that is, as a mode of experience immediately satisfying in itself. It follows from this, as Forster remarks with unusual clarity, that "if criticism strays from her central aesthetic quest to influences and psychological and historical considerations, something does happen then, contact is established. But no longer with a work of art." To Wind and Lang, both of whom are essentially men of learning, it is precisely these other considerations which are paramount.

In a discussion which is remarkable only for its ostentatious display of erudition, Wind speaks ominously of the artist as a conspirator against the truth and as a seducer who by a kind of magic releases "anarchic forces" which produce "bedevilment" in the body politic. He would have the critic act as a kind of moral diagnostician "who in pronouncing on a work of art, should instil into us a sacred fear or castigate

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

our limping virtue." Like Plato and Toynbee, however, he expresses himself in obscure myths and parables which give the gullible an impression of profundity without shedding any real light upon the genuine moral significance of art.

Lang's confused and vindictive diatribe against the "musical journalist" is a nearly perfect instance of the failure to distinguish between understanding of music and knowledge about music which is the besetting vice of so many academic music historians. That the level of a great deal of contemporary musical journalism is pitiably low is no secret. But the cure for this is not more historical erudition but a more intense and sensitive devotion to the felt quality of music. No one disputes that the critic should be able to read music or that he should know something more of the literature of music than that ancient stalking-horse, "the standard repertory." Yet the tenuousness of Lang's grasp of the function of even this knowledge is revealed when he includes in the "purely musical aspect" (*sic*) of the critic's proper equipment a knowledge of the "literature about music," by which, as his examples show, he means primarily musical chronology and cultural history.

Lang's position, in short, is typical of the historicist for whom real understanding of works of art is achieved, not by attending to what one directly hears and feels in them, but rather by learning about the "soil and surroundings they grew from." This is the precise parallel in the arts to the dangerous historical relativism in ethics which confuses anthropology with moral judgment. The reply to Lang is clearly indicated in the addresses of Forster and Sessions: "What, meanwhile, has become of Monteverdi's Vespers?" What has happened to the "perceptible shape" of the work of art? Lang and Wind give little indication that they know what these questions mean. This is why I am obliged to say that the interests of music are not well served by learned minds for whom the "central aesthetic quest" is merely an incident in the history of human culture. These interests are far better served by such "journalists" as Virgil Thomson, for whom the experience of music is the cardinal musical fact.

HENRY DAVID AIKEN

The Life of Musorgsky

MUSORGSKY, unlike Schubert, is revealed by the material in "The Musorgsky Reader: A Life of Musorgsky in Letters and Documents"—translated and edited by Jay Leida and Sergei Bertenson (Norton, $6)—as a man with personal resources which account for the deeply affecting music we hear in "Boris Godunov" or the "Catacombs" episode of "Pictures at an Exhibition" or the conclusion of "Trepak" in "Songs and Dances of Death." In 1852, at the age of thirteen, he entered the Cadet School of the Guards; four years later he became an officer in the Preobazhensky regiment and, according to Borodin, was "the very picture of an officer: brand-new, close-fitting uniform, poised feet, sleek, pomaded hair, nails as if carved . . . refined, aristocratic manners, conversation the same, speaking somewhat through his teeth, sprinkled with French phrases, rather affected"—to which another contemporary adds that he acquired an officer's drinking habits, with destructive effect on his subsequent life. But throughout his school years he continued his study of the piano and worried the director of the Cadet School with such un-officer-like activities as reading history, translating foreign books, and studying German philosophy; at eighteen, while still an officer, having met Dargomizhsky, Cui, and Balakirev, he began serious study of music with Balakirev; at nineteen he resigned his commission to devote himself entirely to music. And although thereafter he might act and speak with increasing indirection, unnaturalness, affectation, and obscurity, these were only the external manifestations of a complex personality in increasing disorder, behind which operated a profoundly serious, cultivated, and sophisticated mind.

But Musorgsky has his own mysteries. We read of a boy whose study of the piano gives him familiarity with the German piano literature, and who also acquires knowledge of Italian opera, but absolutely none of Russian music; of a youth of eighteen who, without any previous study of harmony or any other theoretic subject, equips himself for composition by studying with Balakirev, for a time, the forms of individual works by Beethoven, Schubert,

There is a book by
DR. KAREN HORNEY
to help you solve your problems

The Neurotic Personality Of Our Time

¶ A pioneering work that is recognized as a modern classic. "That this book should be very widely read is clear to this reviewer. . . . It has a great message for you." —*N. Y. Herald Tribune.*
12th Printing. $3.50

New Ways in Psychoanalysis

¶ A critical examination and revaluation of the theory and practice of psychoanalysis. "An important step in freeing psychoanalytic theory and practice from its outmoded formulations."—*American Journal of Sociology.*
9th Printing. $3.50

Self Analysis

¶ "Fresh illustration of the rich possibilities of a wide and thorough self-inspection and the practical consequences to be derived." —*American Journal of Psychology.* 6th Printing. $3.50

Our Inner Conflicts

¶ *A Constructive Theory of Neurosis.* "Among the many writers on psychology Karen Horney seems to have most to say to the lay reader. OUR INNER CONFLICTS is one of her most helpful works."—*Los Angeles News.* 4th Printing $3.50

At all bookstores

Write for free descriptive catalog of Norton Books on Psychiatry.

W.W. NORTON & CO.
101 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK 3

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Schumann, Glinka, and others; of a young man who continues as a member of a group—with Cui, Borodin, Rimsky-Korsakov—of young composers without professional schooling and discipline, guided and dominated by one as unprofessional as themselves, Balakirev; a young man whose letters to his associates describe a dilettante letting his mind play now with this project, now with that, and whose associates—Cui, Balakirev, even so devoted an adherent in later years as the critic Stasov—ridicule him and his compositions in letters to each other dated 1863, 1864, and even as late as 1867. This is hardly a man of whom we expect or can understand the completion only two years later, at the age of thirty, of a work—the first version of "Boris Godunov"—which is astounding not only in its originality but in its complete and professional assurance.

Nor do we expect or understand this in a man who has had an onset of delirium tremens at the age of twenty-six. And concerning this, Musorgsky thereafter provides even greater cause for wonder. The drinking gets worse, as a result of a progressive personal disintegration which in turn it aggravates; his daily existence becomes increasingly sordid and alarming to the friends who are helpless in the situation. Yet he can answer a warmly but tactfully solicitous letter from a friend, in 1873, with a graceful rebuke for doubting "the independent state of a certain man's . . . powers," and back this up with a description of the Introduction to "Khovanshchina" which is "ready, but not written down," and was in fact written down a year later, and of another portion of this work that "is almost ready, but as with 'Boris,' will be written only when the fruit has ripened." "I am," he sums up, "living 'Khovanshchina' as I lived 'Boris,' and I am the same Musoryanin, only I have become more strict with myself." And in truth, in the increasing disorder of his daily existence his mind carries on this inner disciplined living of his creative work, which produces, in its own time, works of the most assured mastery like the second version of "Boris" and the song-cycle "The Nursery" in 1872, "Pictures at an Exhibition" and the "Sunless" cycle in 1874, "Songs and Dances of Death" in 1877. The famous "Song of the Flea" is composed, only a year and a half before his death, in the confusion and wretchedness of the tour with the singer Leonova.

Of Musorgsky's personal disintegration the material in "The Musorgsky Reader" provides ample documentation; on the usual emotional involvements other than friendship there is a striking silence—not only in Musorgsky's letters but in the statements of others—which might mean that there were no such involvements; about the early experiences which must have been responsible for both of these connected phenomena no information is provided by any of the documents in the book. Perhaps it was contained in the family letters and others that are known to be missing.

What is missing the editors cannot be expected to supply, but what they publish they may be expected not to censor—especially after they have criticized others for toning down some of the coarse passages in Musorgsky's letters. "At the risk of joining Musorgsky's editorial 'cleansers' we have omitted violently chauvinist phrases directed against Jews and Catholics as groups. Musorgsky's anti-Semitism and anti-Catholicism derived from his unthinking adherence to the nationalist program laid down by Balakirev and Stasov." Wonderful, what the mind can be made to do: the editors can think of themselves as merely "risking" joining the editorial "cleansers," not *really* joining them, since they are so obviously justified in omitting what isn't *really* anti-Semitism in Musorgsky but only something he took over unthinkingly from Balakirev. They make themselves comfortable by thinking of it that way; and the way I think of it is that whatever its explanation, if there is anti-Semitism in the letters it must be left there, and omitting it constitutes presumptuous editorial malpractice no less than other editors' "cleansing."

With the editors' fuzziness of mind on this point it isn't surprising that they mishandle disastrously the more important matter of Rimsky-Korsakov's revision of Musorgsky's works. They mention the "semi-tragic postscript to Musorgsky's tragic end"—"the fact that his music has become familiar in forms other than those in which he composed it" (what more would make this wholly tragic I can't imagine). But "fortunately" (why fortunately is likewise not apparent to me) "it is no longer required critical practice to shake one's fist at Musorgsky's first and most valuable 'arranger.'" It turns out that they accept Rimsky's justification of what he did, which they quote from his "Chronicle of My Musical Life": that it would always be possible to publish a "musicologically accurate edition," but that he was satisfying the immediate "need of an edition for performances, for practical artistic purposes, for making [Musorgsky's] colossal talent known"—purposes which, according to Rimsky, could not be achieved by Musorgsky's original versions. And they believe that Rimsky did, in this way, make the music known to a world which otherwise would not have known it.

Now the editors quote from Rimsky's "Chronicle" at a number of points in their book; yet they fail—amazingly—to quote the passage in which he tells of "Boris Godunov"—*i. e.*, Musorgsky's 1872 version—being produced in St. Petersburg in 1874 "with great success," and of its continuing to be performed

Chamber Music

The Growth and Practice of an Intimate Art

by HOMER ULRICH

"Mr. Ulrich has given us a most comprehensive history of the art of chamber music. The book is valuable as a source of reference, as a work of information, and as a guide to the appreciation of the great number of chamber music masterpieces."
—*The Etude Music Magazine.* $6.00

A Short History of Opera

by DONALD J. GROUT

"Mr. Grout's history is a compact and comprehensive one, filling a long-standing need. The approach is sober, scholarly, and based on illuminating musicianship."—*New York Times Book Review.*
Illus., 2 vols., boxed, $10.00

At All Bookstores

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS
Publishers of *The Columbia Encyclopedia*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

once or twice each year, except 1881, until 1882, when, "the Lord knows why, productions of the opera ceased altogether, although it had enjoyed uninterrupted success." About the reasons which only the Lord knew Rimsky writes that "there were rumors afloat that the opera had displeased the imperial family; there was gossip that its subject was unpleasant to the censors"; but he says nothing about any difficulties for performers or the public that made the work unsuitable "for performances, for practical artistic purposes, for making [Musorgsky's] colossal talent known."

By Rimsky's own testimony, then, there was no actual need of any revision of "Boris" to make it practical for performance and assure its success. There was only the need which Rimsky talked himself into believing to justify the revision that he wanted to make and that he got the Society of Musical Gatherings to produce in 1896. Musorgsky's original would have been as practical to produce then as in 1874, and would have repeated its success of 1874-1882. And if it *had* been produced by the Society in 1896 instead of Rimsky's revision it would have taken the subsequent steps which the revision took: its success would have led to its being produced by Mamontov's company in Moscow with Chaliapin and brought to St. Petersburg by this company in 1899; it would have come to the Marinsky Theater with Chaliapin in 1904; it would have gone with him to Paris in 1908 in the production which carried the work to western Europe and eventually to America; and it would be the version of the work which the world would know today.

The real reason for Rimsky's revision of "Boris" was simply that he liked it better his way, and that with Musorgsky dead he could have it the way he liked. And what he achieved was not to make Musorgsky's "Boris" known to the world, but to keep it from being known to this very day. More than twenty years after the published demonstration of his monstrous falsification of Musorgsky's work, twenty years after the publication of the original Musorgsky text, Rimsky's version is still the one performed here and in Europe—with the sole recent exception of London, where Musorgsky's 1869 version was produced at Sadler's Wells before the war, and his 1872 version has just been produced at Covent Garden.

B. H. HAGGIN

The Twelve-Tone System

THE THEORY OF HARMONY. By Arnold Schoenberg. Philosophical Library. $7.50.

THIS book, written in 1911 and appearing for the first time in English translation, purports to guide the student in the technique of handling harmonic materials, from the simplest devices to those in use just before Schoenberg took what he considered the next logical step and devised the twelve-tone system. The organization of material is unorthodox; the theories show reflection and insight, and are always provocative even where one cannot agree, yet fail to probe very deeply into the nature of our musical system, being content to rest upon certain dogma and arbitrary statements, some of which are questionable, to say the least. The scale itself is taken as an arbitrary fact, which is the first step on the road to twelve-tone thinking. And though Schoenberg assures us in his preface that he wishes to avoid rules, and regards the study of harmony as a search, the text presents us only with his conclusions, including a number of categorical rules, and these, moreover, unsupported by examples from the masters, of which there are almost none. Students may find most value in the last section, where modern chromatic harmony is intelligently handled.

The editors' deletion of Schoenberg's philosophical comments is unfortunate, for such as do appear seem integrated with his entire thinking, here revealed as characteristic of that German culture which some designate as pre-Nazi. Thus, in the preface there is that familiar mysticism, the concern with man's guilt, the decrying of comfort as a way of life, the mourning for lost culture. Nationalism appears in the text itself, which is slanted from the view that contemporary (1910) German music rep-

The dramatic and shocking inside story of Yugoslavia's role as a pawn in world power-politics

THE WAR WE LOST

Yugoslavia's Tragedy and the Failure of the West

by Constantin Fotitch

Yugoslav Ambassador to the U. S., 1935-44

This tiny corner of Europe has been for years a storm-center of global diplomacy. Here World War I began, here the Hitler-Stalin alliance disintegrated, here lie grave causes of difference between the United States and Russia.

In his honestly anti-communist account of the events which led up to present conditions in Yugoslavia, Mr. Fotitch combines international history with fascinating personal details about the leaders and their motives.

At all booksellers $3.50

THE VIKING PRESS • 18 East 48th Street, New York 17, N.Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

resents the highest development in expressiveness and understanding. All other tendencies are studiously avoided ("today it is not in common use, and hence we exclude it"). For the student who wishes to continue in the direction of German post-Romantic music (Bruckner and Mahler), such thinking may be adequate; for those who wish fresh and penetrating insights, the book, while possessing value, has serious limitations.

Many will be irritated by the plugs for the twelve-tone system which peep out here and there—the hope that, through training, the ear will gradually discern more and more complex relationships; the frequent references to the "squeamish" ear which balks at certain dissonances. This appears quite absurd some forty years later, when many composers whose trained ears have absorbed every conceivable dissonance are falling back upon consonant harmony, and when twelve-tone music has a large following among intellectuals who cannot distinguish major from minor!

One might at first get the impression, then, that many of Schoenberg's concepts have their source in an attempt to justify his twelve-tone system; careful consideration, however, leads me to believe the converse—that his concepts constitute the source, and the twelve-tone system its logical consequence. But it is not, as his followers contend, the logical conclusion to one thousand years of music, most of which his book treats as archaic. Music develops in many directions at once, and that the twelve-tone system is its logical development in a particular direction is undeniably true. But all development is not progress, and overdevelopment often leads to extinction. Whether or not the twelve-tone system represents this unhappy phase is not for one man to say; as regards its musical worth, however, the "logical development" argument has little validity.

HAROLD BROWN

PUBLISHERS' OVERSTOCK

New Original Editions! Ideal Gifts!

Tales Out of School: John L. Espey	$ .50
Stories From Far & Near: L. Feuchtwanger	.50
Music on Records: B. H. Haggin (4th rev. ed.)	1.00
Samuel Johnson: Joseph Wood Krutch	1.00
Campus versus Classroom: Burges Johnson	1.00
Lonely Crusade: Chester Himes	1.00
Country Place: Ann Petry	1.00
Diaries of Tchaikovsky: Lakond, $5 list	1.25
Boston, Cradle of Liberty: John Jennings	1.49
Selected Letters Wm. Allen White: ed. W. Johnson	1.69
The following are superb A. A. Knopf editions	
No Man Knows My History (Smith): F. Brodie	1.49
This Petty Pace: Mary Petty, $3.50 list	1.49
Rossini: Frances Toye	1.98
Adventures of the Mind: Arturo Castiglioni	2.49
Letters of Composers: Shrifte & Norman	2.49
Collected Prose of Elinor Wylie, $4.50 list	2.49
Portrait of Shelley: Newman Ivey White	2.49
Martin Chuzzlewit: Dickens (illus. M. Petty)	3.49
Green Mansions: Hudson (illus. H. Butler)	3.49
Complete Poems & Stories Edgar Allen Poe: ed. A. H. Quinn, 2 vols., $10 list, illus.	4.95

Postpaid U. S. A.

DOWNTOWN BOOK BAZAAR

212 Broadway New York 7, N. Y.

YES, I WANT

to join the Book Club that lets members order any book they want and also gives them a 25% bonus on the amount they spend.

THE BONUS BOOK CLUB

Please enroll me as a member and send me the book(s) listed below. After I purchase 4 books of my choice, I can use the bonus to buy more books.

Name_____

Address_____ Zone_____ State_____

Titles of Books Wanted_____

BONUS BOOK CLUB, 61 West 56 St.
New York 19, N. Y. Dept. "N-8"
No text, technical or foreign books

Two Biographies

HANDEL. By Edward J. Dent. A. A. Wyn. $1.50.

BRAHMS. By Ralph Hill. A. A. Wyn. $1.50.

I DON'T know which are likely to be more unsatisfactory to read or more difficult to review, biographies of painters or biographies of first-rate composers, but on the basis of the two slim books at hand, I would certainly nominate the biographies of composers. The redeeming feature of each of these books is its faithfulness and its willingness to quote in a pinch. Professor Dent's should have enormously more intrinsic interest, but I found it peculiarly frivolous and opaque. One would be better occupied with Fielding or Swift. As personal and social history, Ralph Hill's biography of Brahms is fully as interesting. There are many more Brahms documents extant, and when the two main themes are prolonged factional fights with the Lizst gang and the equally prolonged political efforts of Handel to establish himself in Georgian England, there is very little to choose between. The two composers were intensely conservative, intensely catholic in life and taste. Handel had the better self-control and the sharper wit. Professor Dent gives us enough nice anecdotes to make us want more. One singer found fault with Handel's method of accompanying in rehearsal and threatened to jump on the harpsichord. "Oh," said Handel, "let me know when you will do that, and I will advertise it; for I am sure more people will come to see you jump than to hear you sing."

I must say no more; there are better and more complete biographies of both composers. The scope allowed in this popular series is very small. The bare facts are here, with a few anecdotes, quotations from letters, and a thorough bibliography in each. Neither has critical observations of any consequence. Ralph Hill berates the more rabid anti-Brahmsists and perhaps with some justice, but it is hardly any more such a fighting issue. No question that Brahms's heart and intentions were pure; no question that they produced some strong and much impure, tedious work.

R. W. FLINT

Books in Brief

THE pocket librettos of Rossini's "Barber of Seville" and Verdi's "Rigoletto," "Il Trovatore," and "La Traviata" issued by Allen, Towne, and Heath ($.65 each, $2.50 boxed) offer good English translations by E. J. Dent, with an occasional marginal cue from the original Italian text. In addition there is information about the libretto and music which I would judge from its quality to have been written by Professor Dent, together with material about the composers, which seems to have been written by someone of quite different caliber.

The latest book on jazz, Sidney Finkelstein's "Jazz: A People's Music" (Citadel, $3), leaves Wilder Hobson's "American Jazz Music" still the one book on the subject worth reading. And I don't think it accidental or insignificant that Hobson's book is conspicuously missing from Finkelstein's discussion of the literature in his preface. Hobson is someone with a sharp ear and eye who writes illuminatingly about the music as he has heard it and perceptively about the musicians as he has observed them; whereas whatever occasional insights Finkelstein reveals are swamped in the frenetic gabble about jazz as the product of economic and social conditions. Hobson is aware of the conditions under which the jazz musicians have produced their music, but not of anything like the "contradiction that has plagued jazz from its New Orleans beginnings; the aware-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ness by jazz musicians of solutions to new problems, which the miserable cultural life in which they have to work prevents them from realizing." And I wonder whether Louis Armstrong knows that he has been plagued by this contradiction from his New Orleans beginnings.

The valuable part of Lillian Littlehale's "Pablo Casals" (Norton, $3.75) is what she has now added to the mere fulsomely adoring sketch published in 1929. One is deeply moved by this additional material which describes Casals's life and work in Spain during the years of the republic, and for the martyred people of Spain in the years of exile after the republic's destruction; his visits to England in 1945 and growing disappointment and disillusionment as he realized that "after six years of faith in the triumph of the democracies we were being abandoned"; his decision to protest against this in the only way available to him, which was not to play in England again; his decision not to play anywhere until Spain was liberated. What makes this moral gesture so moving is that it is made and held to in a world in which the English who welcomed Casals also welcome Furtwängler and Gigli, Menuhin makes the fatuous gesture of playing with Furtwängler, and we are about to accept Gieseking.

B. H. H.

Films

ANTHONY BOWER

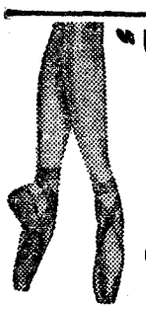
THE current version of "Joan of Arc" is adapted from Maxwell Anderson's stage play "Joan of Lorraine"—very freely, for the play-within-a-play device has been abandoned and what distinction of language there was has been lost. The opening scene introduces us to the Maid, *en famille* at Domremy, where her kinsfolk, in the simple way of the peasantry the world over, are regaling one another with a succinct summary of history, both current and past, in the following manner: "The Duke of Burgundy lays waste to our lands, the English King has half of France at his feet, and our Dauphin [or Dorfin, rather] does naught but while away his time in pleasures." The news value of such statements to the protagonists in the scene is doubtful, but at least they inform the audience that Hollywood has opened its special history book at one of its most brilliantly illuminated pages—a promise that is more than fulfilled.

We follow Joan from Domremy to the court of the Dauphin at Chinon, where the courtiers are having that particular brand of film high-life fun which is expressed by high tinkling laughter and exclamations of "Fie." Thence to the super-spectacles of the raising of the siege of Orleans—where Joan, clad in armor that looks as though it had been supplied by J. Heinz and Company, leads one of the bloodiest attacks in the history of the screen—and of the crowning of the Dauphin at Rheims. From here on the film acquires a little more dignity and some of the prison scenes have a certain poignancy—quickly dispelled by an extremely tasteless moment in which the Maid's jailer tries to seduce her with something like the following words, "Yield Maid—or you will die without ever having really lived." The trial is conducted with little regard either for historical accuracy or for the dignity of the church, and reaches the limits of absurdity when Joan denies her voices in public to the accompaniment of howls from the crowd, which is rooting for her in the manner of spectators at a football game, of "Ab*jure* Joan, go on, ab*jure*."

The final moments show the Maid, surrounded by highly technicolored flames and the voices of the Hollywood Heavenly Choir, breathing "Jesus"—and here we must concede her the last word. Of performances there are none—with the exception of José Ferrer's puzzled Dauphin, in whom he manages to suggest both folly and a certain strength of character, and of Ingrid Bergman's Joan, which is hard to appraise. She has little opportunity to break through all the fol-de-rol and nonsense, but there are moments, particularly when she is showing Joan at her lowest ebb, when she is extremely touching. She does not, however, succeed in convincing one that she has ever heard a voice more inspiring than a call to join the Salvation Army.

Yet another girl is hearing disembodied voices on the screen this week—this time the voices of madness heard in the confines of a state hospital for the insane. "The Snake Pit" is a faithful and highly effective adaptation of Mary Jane Ward's novel of the same title, and shows, reasonably and accurately, many aspects of the appalling facts of insanity. The plot around which the film is woven has the ring of truth, as does almost every ghastly detail of life in the hospital. Olivia de Havilland, with the most laudable disregard for her personal appearance, is thoroughly convincing as the victim of a complete nervous breakdown, and the film is highly recommended, to the strong of stomach, for its forceful and honest handling of a difficult subject.

THE FILM SOCIETY
CINEMA 16
announces invitations for membership for the Winter season.
Affording 8 private showings of documentary, scientific and experimental films not presented in regular movie theatres. Free guest tickets, gala premieres, discounts.
5 different membership plans.
For information, write Dept. "B"
CINEMA 16, 59 Park Avenue
N. Y. C. 16 MU 9-7288


The Red Shoes
A J. Arthur Rank Presentation
COLOR BY TECHNICOLOR
BIJOU Theatre CO-5-8215
All Seats Reserved • Mail Orders Now
Matinee daily at 2:30—$1.20, 1.50, 1.80 (tax incl.) Extra Matinees Saturdays and Sundays at 5:30) Evenings at 8:30—$1.20, 1.80, 2.40 (tax incl.) Late show Saturday evening at 11:30
SEATS NOW ON SALE AT BOX OFFICE!

DARRYL F. ZANUCK presents
OLIVIA de HAVILLAND
the Snake Pit
also starring MARK STEVENS and LEO GENN
with Celeste Holm & Glenn Langan
Directed by ANATOLE LITVAK
Produced by ANATOLE LITVAK & ROBERT BASSLER
20th CENTURY-FOX
RIVOLI BWAY & 49th ST.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

"LET MY PEOPLE FREE" (Hudson Theater) has undoubtedly its moments—has, indeed, a good many of them. Some are moments of drama, like the opening scene; some are moments of eerie primitive ecstasy, like the night-time scene on the lonely island when the drums beat and the Old Testament gets assimilated to voodooism. But if the whole is not so impressive as it sometimes seems about to be, the trouble probably is that there are too many separate moments of too many different kinds. One is led to expect a tragedy, and one gets instead a pageant.

If I were a producer, I think I should be very dubious of any script which permitted itself to be interrupted from time to time by divertissements, even though they might seem as appropriate as the spirituals and the dancing here do. I should argue that any play whose dramatic movement was swift and inevitable enough would simply refuse to pause, that there would never be a moment which seemed the right moment for an interruption. An opera is quite a different sort of thing. Its text exists only to provide occasions for interruptions, and it is likely to make the spectator feel that the more often it is interrupted the better the whole thing is. But a drama should go steadily about its business. Every time the narrative spell is broken, the story has to begin all over again, and there is a limit to the number of times one can make a fresh start.

The work at present in question was written some years ago by Dorothy Heyward, who was responsible with her late husband for "Porgy." It deals with an obscure and abortive slave revolt which took place in Charleston more than a hundred years ago. The leader was an African-born Negro said to have been a prince in his native land, and the revolt was frustrated on the eve of its outbreak by a loyal personal servant who gave away the secret when he discovered that the kind master with whom he had grown up could not escape the general slaughter.

Mrs. Heyward tells her story in ten scenes, making of it almost a chronicle play and seeming to vacillate somewhat in her conception both of what sort of effect she intends to create and what theme she desires to develop. The two leading parts are played in admirably contrasting fashion by Juano Hernandez as the prince turned Old Testament prophet and by Canada Lee as the well-treated slave who has been either humanized or, if you prefer, corrupted to the point where scruples concerning honor and the claims of gratitude make it impossible for him to be as ruthless as his leader insists upon being. The big spectacular scene on the island is staged with a good deal of imagination, even though it is somewhat reminiscent of similar scenes which have turned up in most plays about Negroes since "The Emperor Jones" made the survival of primitivism in the black man a dramatic cliché. But the real reason why the total effect is so scattered seems to be that the author is not herself quite sure what the center of the play is. She might have told her story, as the story of "Porgy" was told, primarily for the sake of its pictorial and emotionally simple effects. She might, on the other hand, have made it—and at times she seems to be doing just this—a simple "revolutionary play," like any one of the dozens which during the American thirties took their hint from Hauptmann's "The Weavers." Finally she might also have decided that the real center of interest was the unresolved moral conflict between the "revolutionary realism" of the resolute leader and the body servant's conception of the demands of honor and personal decency which no end may justify us in disregarding.

It is in the direction of this last theme that Mrs. Heyward seems most often to lean, and of the three possible treatments the one it suggests is the only one which might have resulted in a genuine and impressive tragedy. Her action is just remote enough to be used as a symbol, and it might easily be argued that the problem which it suggests is not only general enough for true tragedy but also, quite possibly, the most crucial of our times. To call that problem merely the old question whether or not the ends can justify the means is to formalize and desiccate a living and fundamental issue which at this very moment divides men more deeply and perhaps more irreconcilably than any other they face. It is the very heart of the Communist question, and it goes deeper than any difference of opinion concerning, for example, conceptions of what "social justice" entails. Is "necessity" only "the tyrant's plea"? Would any conceivable "better world" be really better if it involved the abandonment, once and for all, of the concepts of honor and decency and fairness? Or, as the problem appears in this play, are treachery and ingratitude worse even than slavery? On the theme of such questions a great modern tragedy might possibly be written. "Set My People Free" at least suggests that important fact. But it is neither powerful enough nor even consistent enough to come very close to being itself that not impossible great play.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

THE following are what I consider outstanding among the recordings of the past year (RCA Victor–V, Columbia–C, English Decca–ED, Parlophone–P, Vox–Vx, Musicraft–M):

Bach: Excerpts from the St. Matthew Passion; Elsie Suddaby, Katherine Ferrier, chorus and orchestra under Reginald Jacques; ED Set 43, $15.75. Magnificat; Robert Shaw's chorus, Blanche Thebom, Paul Matthen; V Set 1167, $6. Cantata No. 140; Robert Shaw's chorus, soloists; V Set 1162, $5. Brandenburg Concerto No. 4; Klemperer and chamber orchestra; Vx Set 621, $5.25. Violin Concerto in A minor; Totenberg and chamber orchestra; M Set 78, $2.85 (noisy surfaces).

Beethoven: Quartet Opus 18 No. 6;

This week's features:
All the outstanding records of the year as recommended by B. H. Haggin
FOR **HARD-TO-GET** RECORDS
FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC
ELAINE MUSIC SHOP
9 East 44th Street New York City 17
Mail orders, of course
Catalogue: 10¢ post paid. Sample copy of record review "JUST RECORDS" on request

FROM BUXTEHUDE TO BRITTEN
. . . we are equipped to meet all the wants of the record collector
also complete stock of sheet music
VESEY MUSIC SHOP
50 CHURCH STREET NEW YORK CITY
(near Fulton Street)
"The Downtown Music Store"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Budapest Quartet (poorly recorded); C Set 754, $4.75. Great Fugue Opus 133; Kroll Quartet; M Set 73, $2.85 (noisy surfaces). Sonata Opus 96 for violin and piano; Goldberg and Kraus; P Set 50, $7.35.

Berlioz: Requiem; French performers; C Set 769, $15.50. "Fantastic" Symphony; Amsterdam Concertgebouw Orchestra under Van Beinum; ED Set 56, $13.65. Overture "Le Corsaire"; Royal Philharmonic under Beecham; V 11-9955, $1.25. Romance from "La Damnation de Faust"; Bampton (shrill in upper range) with orchestra under Pelletier; V 12-0015, $1.25.

Britten: Sea Interludes and Passacaglia from "Peter Grimes"; Amsterdam Concertgebouw Orchestra under Van Beinum; ED Set 50, $7.35.

Copland: Excerpts from "Rodeo" and "Billy the Kid"; Dallas Symphony under Dorati (performance and recording coarse); V Set 1214, $4.75.

Debussy: "Ibéria"; Münch and Paris Conservatory Concerts Orchestra (performance not good); ED Set 51, $7.35.

Delius: "Brigg Fair"; Beecham and Royal Philharmonic; V Set 1206, $3.50.

Gluck: Excepts from "Orfeo ed Euridice"; Glyndebourne Festival 1947 production conducted by Stiedry; ED Set 39, $15.75. *Che faró from* "Orfeo"; Ferrier with London Symphony under Sargent (in English), with *Art Thou Troubled?* from Handel's "Rodelinda"; ED K-1466, $2.10. *Che faró;* Nan Merriman with orchestra under Weissmann, with *Me voici dans son boudoir* from Thomas's "Mignon"; V 12-0067, $1.25.

Handel: "Messiah"; Beecham conducting Royal Philharmonic, choruses, Elsie Suddaby and other soloists; V Sets 1194-5, $28.25. Violin Sonata in D; Goldberg and Moore; Set 59, $5.25. Water Music; London Philharmonic under Cameron; ED Set 38, $5.25. Concerto Opus 4 No. 6 for harp; Grandjany and orchestra under Morel, with solo pieces by Couperin, Francisque, and Kirchoff; V Set 1201, $4.75.

Marais: Suite in D minor, with Couperin's Suite in A; Alfred Zighera, viola da gamba, Putnam Aldrich, harpsichord; Technichord Set T-9, $6.15.

Mozart: Requiem; performance conducted by De Sabata; American pressing issued by Cetra-Soria: Set 101, $15.70 (some sides with wavering pitch). Piano Concerto K.488; Curzon and National Symphony under Boyd Neel; ED Set 53, $7.35. Overtures to "Idomeneo" and "The Impresario"; Boyd Neel and National Symphony; ED K-1410, $2.10. Symphony K.385 ("Haffner"); Toscanini and N. B. C. Symphony (badly recorded); V Set 1172, $4.75. Symphony K.550 (G minor); Reiner and Pittsburgh Symphony (badly recorded); C Set 727, $4.75. Minuet K.409; Leinsdorf and Cleveland Orchestra, with Schubert's "Rosamunde" ballet music; C 12749-D, $1.25. Quartet K.387; Griller Quartet (crude performance); ED Set 48, $9.45.

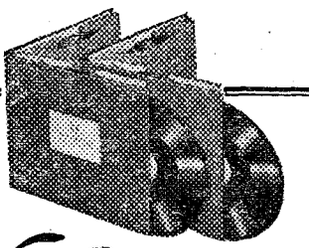
Prokofiev: "Classical" Symphony; Koussevitzky and Boston Symphony; V Set 1241, $3.50.

Schubert: Symphony No. 9; Toscanini and N. B. C. Symphony; V Set 1167, $8.50. "Der Hirt auf dem Felsen"; Dorothy Maynor; V 12-0186, $1.25. "An die Musik" and "Der Erlkönig"; Lehmann; V 10-1448, $1. "Die junge Nonne" and "Gretchen am Spinnrade"; Katherine Ferrier; D K-1632, $2.10. "Der Tod und das Mädchen"; Anderson and Rupp, with "Wohin" (less well sung); V 10-1327, $1.

Smetana: Overture to "The Bartered Bride"; Defauw and Chicago Symphony; V 12-0018, $1.25.

OUR FREE BROCHURE TELLS HOW MEMBERS CAN GET

Free



Vivaldi's
THE FOUR SEASONS
ISSUED BY

Concert Hall Society

TWO BEAUTIFUL ALBUMS CONTAINING
SIX HIGH FIDELITY PLASTIC RECORDS

The Concert Hall Society Orchestra
Louis Kaufman, violinist; Henry Swoboda, conductor

MEMBERSHIP IS LIMITED TO 3000
ONLY 592 CAN ACCEPT THIS INVITATION

SENDING for the Society's free brochure involves no obligation. It explains how you, as a member, may have (without extra charge) the two beautiful Vivaldi "bonus albums," SIX 12" records.

This brochure will also explain how you can be the proud owner of original American recordings in LIMITED EDITIONS—masterpieces not available anywhere else, *at any price.*

Superb Music

Read this list of timeless works, performed by leading artists in their fields: the Guilet Quartet, Raya Garbousova, Louis Kaufman, Ralph Kirkpatrick, Aaron Copland, Ray Lev, to mention a few . . .

1. *Mendelssohn:* Piano Quartet Op. 2
2. *Monteverdi:* Ballo Concertante
3. *Thompson:* String Quartet #1
4. *Brahms:* Serenade for Orch. #1
5. *Stravinsky:* Suite Italienne
6. *Bach:* Inventions for Clavichord
7. *Ives:* Album of Songs
8. *Mozart:* Piano Concerto (K.413)
9. *Schubert:* "Guitar" Quartet
10. *Copland:* Violin Sonata
11. *Bloch:* Piano Sonata
12. *Haydn:* Violin-Harpsichord Concerto
13. *Handel:* Trio Sonata Op. 5
14. *Strauss:* Cello Sonata Op. 6
15. *Ibert:* Histoires
16. *Vivaldi:* Four Seasons

The Cost Is Surprisingly Reasonable

The records are pressed *directly* from gold-sputtered masters on "Vinylite" brand plastic—hence only a *limited* number can be produced. Each luxurious album bears your personal subscription number. Here is a treasured group of "Collector's item" recordings which only this inner circle of music lovers can possess. Yet these "custom-made" recordings cost no more than commercial mass-produced "Vinylite" brand discs.

Our free 28-page brochure tells the whole interesting story. It explains, too, how members can receive, free, the two Vivaldi albums. Since only 592 more memberships are available, we suggest you send the coupon at once. No obligation.

SEND FOR THIS FREE BROCHURE

2311
CONCERT HALL SOCIETY, INC.
250 West 57th St., New York 19, N. Y.

Please send me your free brochure, with details on how to get, free, the 2 Vivaldi "bonus albums."

Name .....
(Please print plainly)

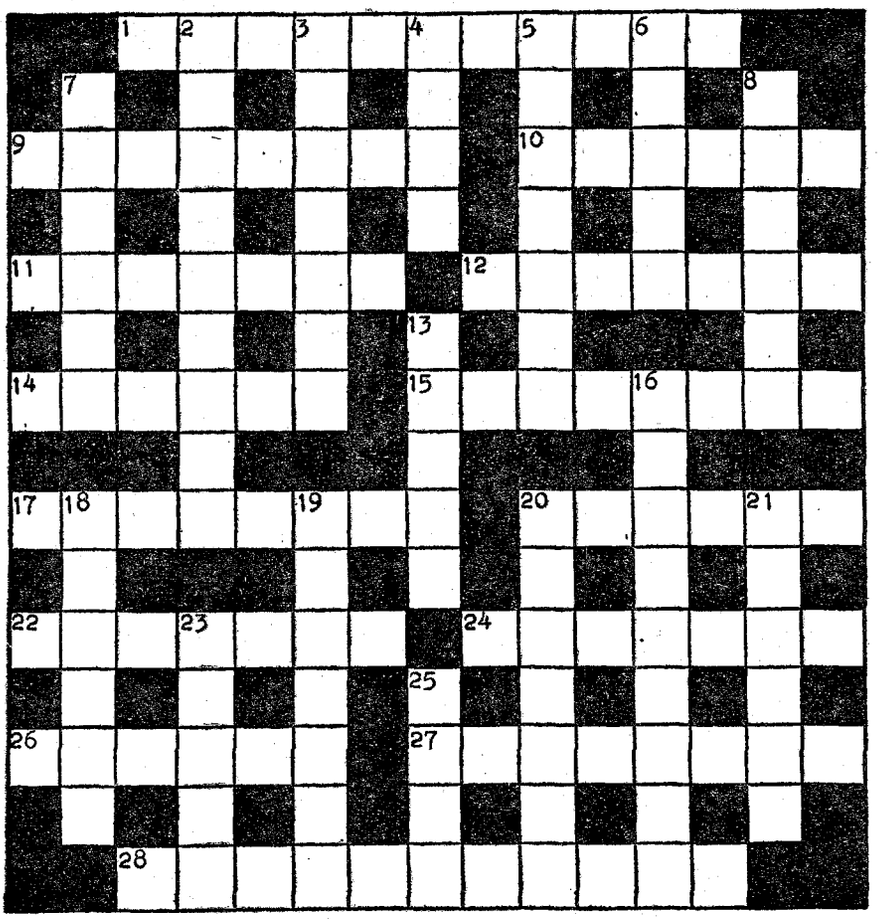
Address .....

City ..... Zone..... State.....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crossword Puzzle No. 288

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Indication of more than one blemish at court? (6, 5)
9 Incendiaries. (8)
10 The dwelling places of Romans. (6)
11 Paradise. (7)
12 Play with old 24, without help. (7)
14 See 28.
15 Changed to a brief form of weapon against 9, perhaps. (8)
17 How to kill a message. (8)
20 Borders on the distaff side, usually. (6)
22 Literally, profit from booty. (7)
24 Thus cords give cheers. (7)
26 Pact in which might appear an herb. (6)
27 Canaling was originally English, it seems. (8)
28, 13, and 14 Where the little foxes once played. (7, 4, 2, 3, 6)

DOWN

2 What one might expect to do in an upper berth? (9)
3 Aroma of flowers? (7)
4 Twain poetically referred to this and the West. (4)
5 He probably becomes married, sooner or later. (7)
6 Clean, and to the point. (5)
7 "What news on the ———," asked Solanio. (6)
8 This was almost dedicated to Napoleon, in the years a labor organization has risen. (6)
13 See 28.
16 Generally implies a single star. (9)
18 Sounds like a street which couldn't have a "Do Not Enter" sign. (6)
19 Sounds like how to take the lead, if you're peculiarly suited to it! (7)
20 Were such measures rule of thumb to the little Dutch boy? (7)
21 The interdiction pertaining to the chief city of Bœotia. (6)
23 Opera sometimes connected with the flying trapeze. (5)
25 The isle where one shouldn't 2 down. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 287

ACROSS:—1 SPHINXES; 5 GHETTO; 10 AQUIVER; 11 NAVARRE; 12 CHICLE; 14 DISRAELI; 16 INHALES; 17 and 18 FIRST DOWN; 20 TRIANON; 22 MORE; 24 NEPAL; 26 DEFENDS; 29 RECLUSES; 30 SCREAM; 32 LARGESS; 33 ACETONE; 34 ASSESS; 35 CHATTERS.

DOWN:—1 SEARCH; 2 HOUDINI; 3 NOVELIST; 4 EIRE; 6 HOVERS; 7 TORPEDO; 8 OBEDIENT; 9 SNAIL; 13 ENTRIES; 14 DAMAGES; 15 SECONDS; 19 UMBRELLA; 21 NESCIENT; 23 RECORDS; 25 ANEMONE; 26 DURESS; 27 FEAST; 28 EMBERS; 31 WASH.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules" for these challenging brain-teasers. Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Stravinsky: Divertimento from "Le Baiser de la fée"; orchestra under Stravinsky; V Set 1202, $4.75. "Dumbarton Oaks" Concerto; chamber orchestra under Stravinsky; Mercury DM-1, $3.93. Symphony of Psalms; London Philharmonic and Choir under Ansermet; ED Set 52, $7.35.

Tchaikovsky: Winter Scene and final *pas de deux* from "The Nutcracker"; Boston "Pops" under Fiedler; V Set 1164, $3.50. "Romeo and Juliet"; Toscanini and N. B. C. Symphony; V Set 1178, $4.75. Songs; Petina; C Set 712, $4.75.

Verdi: Willow Song and Ava Maria from "Otello"; Albanese with orchestra under Weissmann; V 11-9957, $1.25.

Vivaldi: Concerto Grosso in D minor; Alexander Schneider, Eddie Bachman, Bernard Greenhouse, and strings (recording too sharp); Mercury DM-2, $1.57.

To these I would add Victor's Heritage Series reissues of the John McCormack *Il mio tesoro* from "Don Giovanni" (15-1015, $2.50) and the Hempel-Amato *duet from "La Traviata"* (15-1020). And Columbia's reissue of songs of the Auvergne sung by Madeleine Grey (Set 758, $4.75).

BOOK MSS. WANTED

Complete publishing services, including editorial, production and distribution facilities for books and pamphlets. Write Dept. 4 for free literature.

THE *Exposition* PRESS

One Spruce Street • New York 7, N. Y.

PAMPHLET

ARE YOU INTERESTED in a plan to have prosperity all the time—when prices *fall* as well as when they rise? Read pamphlet: "Money: How to Earn It." 25¢, James E. Clark, New Haven, Conn.

CHRISTMAS CARDS

A NEW IDEA IN XMAS CARDS. Send beautiful Xmas cards to your friends with your name inscribed as donor of a membership in the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE. $2.00, or more. Spread Xmas cheer and aid in the fight for human rights. Send recipients' names and addresses with money to NAACP, 20 West 40th St., N. Y. 18. We will do the rest.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 4-1575. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons. By appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee $3.00.

TOBACCO

CIGARETTES—Popular brands; minimum 5 cartons. Price $1.50 per carton; postpaid. Send check or money order. King Co., Box 569-A, Dover, Delaware.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(Continued from page 569)

It was to be expected that the cry of censorship would be raised. The term is useful for name-calling purposes. But obviously, the [board] does not want to censor *The Nation*. As far as the [board] is concerned, *The Nation* may publish what it pleases. However, the editor of *The Nation* must not permit herself to believe that she will determine what shall be read in the high schools of New York City. It is the Board of Superintendents that has the legal responsibility and duty to determine what books and magazines are to be used. If this is censorship, then well and good.

Every responsible citizen realizes that somewhere in a school system, large or small, there must be placed squarely on the shoulders of an individual or of members of a board the difficult business of selecting reading material for the students. The only fair demand the public can make is that the responsible individual state what standards he applies in making his decisions. Such standards were promulgated some time ago by the [board]. Two of these standards stated in question form read as follows:

> Does the book contain any derogatory statements concerning racial or religious groups?
>
> Does the book contain matter which is so interwoven into the text as to give rise to misunderstanding and prejudice?

The Board of Superintendents issues this statement because it is necessary to do away with the misrepresentations and evasions that have prevented the friends of public education from seeing the real issue. Once the facts are known, the action taken by the [board] must be considered not only right but necessary. That action is in accord with the highest traditions of public education in America. Guided by those traditions, the board will continue to see to it that there shall be no criticism of the religious beliefs of any group in the schools of New York City.

Archibald MacLeish

The signers of the "Appeal to Reason and Conscience" were and are concerned with the questions of principle which the board's action raised. They felt the board's claim of the right to punish periodicals for the publication of past articles by stigmatizing them as not fit to be read in schools was an indefensible extension of censorship and a serious threat to freedom of the press. They felt also that the board's claim of the right to decide what school children should not *read, and specifically to exclude from school libraries all materials to which any group might take exception on the grounds of faith or creed, was an attempt to establish an index expurgatorius of f o r b i d d e n literature, and was thus a plain violation of the American tradition in these matters.*

D. K. Berninghausen

The ban of The Nation *is no isolated case but a specific instance of a national trend toward suppression of ideas.*

Walter Gellhorn

The implication of your first standard seems to be that a statement is to be deemed objectionable if any racial or religious group might be offended by it. The second of your standards seems not to have been involved in the present case.

Erwin N. Griswold

Your statement leaves me with an increased conviction that the action you have taken is both improper and dangerous. It proceeds on the assumption that anything that can fairly be called "religion" cannot be commented upon or criticized in anything made available to students in schools. I agree fully that religion should not be taught in schools. But . . . to take the position that such criticism, presented frankly and thoughtfully, must be withheld from students strikes me as wrong, and the sort of thinking which responsible persons must protest against lest our precious liberties, including freedom of religion, be whittled away.

Who's Who

Mr. Berninghausen is chairman of the Committee on Academic Freedom of the American Library Association; Dr. Dewitt is regional head, Unitarian Ministry; Mr. Frankel is a member of the Board of Directors, New York chapter, National Lawyers' Guild; Mr. Gellhorn is a professor of law at Columbia University; Dr. Gildersleeve is dean emeritus of Barnard College; Dr. Griswold is dean of the Harvard Law School; Dr. Horton is the president of Wellesley College; Dr. Hovde is the president of the New School for Social Research; Mr. Kroll is vice-president of the National Institute of Arts and Letters; Dr. Menninger, president of the American Psychoanalytic and Psychiatric Associations, is general secretary and clinical director of the Menninger Foundation; Mr. Stuber is chairman of the Mission on Religious Freedom, Baptist World Alliance; Dr. Taylor is president of Sarah Lawrence College.

RESORTS

Newest fireproof hotel. Finest accommodations and cuisine, sports, and social life. Special Fall rates.
50 MILES from N. Y. C.
FOREST HOUSE
LAKE MAHOPAC, N.Y. - Tel. MAHOPAC 688

HATHAWAY LODGE
OPEN ALL YEAR — FOR ADULTS
Formerly the palatial 592-acre Macy estate in the beautiful "Hills of the Sky." Luxurious rooms, many with open fireplaces. Walking, hiking—magnificent mountain trails. Horseback riding. Skiing, ice skating in season. Recordings, ping-pong, library, informal dancing. Delicious food. Easy transportation. Make holiday reservations now!
ATTRACTIVE FALL RATES
For reservations or booklet write or call
HATHAWAY LODGE, Haines Falls, N. Y.
Telephone: Tannersville 299

PLUM POINT
the all-season fun, year-round
on the majestic Hudson
• seasonal sports
• delicious food
• gay informality
58 MILES FROM NYC • NEW WINDSOR, NY • NEWBURGH 4270

OAKWOOD
NEW WINDSOR, N. Y. NEWBURGH 4477
Reserve now for Thanksgiving, Christmas and New Year Holidays. Delightful Colonial Estate. Private Lake. All Sports. Dancing, Television, Open Fireplaces. Adults.
N. Y. Phone: Virginia 9-6321

Fall is rare sport at
Glenmere
wood-burning fireplaces in most rooms
the GLENMERE, chester, n. y.
PHONES: CHESTER 208; N. Y. RECTOR 2-5047

Tel.: Monroe 4421
For Adults Only
ZINDOREST PARK
MONROE New York

Yours! THE PERFECT CHRISTMAS VACATION!
Full Entertainment Staff
All Winter Sports
Ice Skating on Premises
Reservations Dec. 24th — Jan. 2nd
WOODBOURNE, N.Y. Tel. WOODBOURNE 1150
CHESTERS
A DELIGHTFUL HIDEAWAY IN THE MOUNTAINS

RICH'S RIVER FRONT HOUSE overlooking the Delaware. For any one interested in good home cooking, beautiful Poconos Mts. country, and small congenial group of adults—try us out. Fall and winter sports nearby. Rates from $37.50 per week. L. Rich, Milford, Pa. Milford 7-4975 or KI 3-2551.

FARMS & ACREAGE

ATTRACTIVE 8-room remodeled Colonial; stoker steam heat; bath; fireplace; large barn; all in excellent condition; 28 acres; view; brook; 6 miles to Lenox. $11,000. Berkshire Farm Agency, Lenox, Mass.

Printed in the U. S. A. by Stinehour Press, Inc., Morgan & Johnson Aves., Brooklyn 6, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

got any

friends who take a year-round interest in peace on earth and good-will to men?

Any who'd rather have a flourishing, independent liberal spirit in the land for Christmas than a new necktie?

They'd probably be pleased by a gift subscription to The Nation.

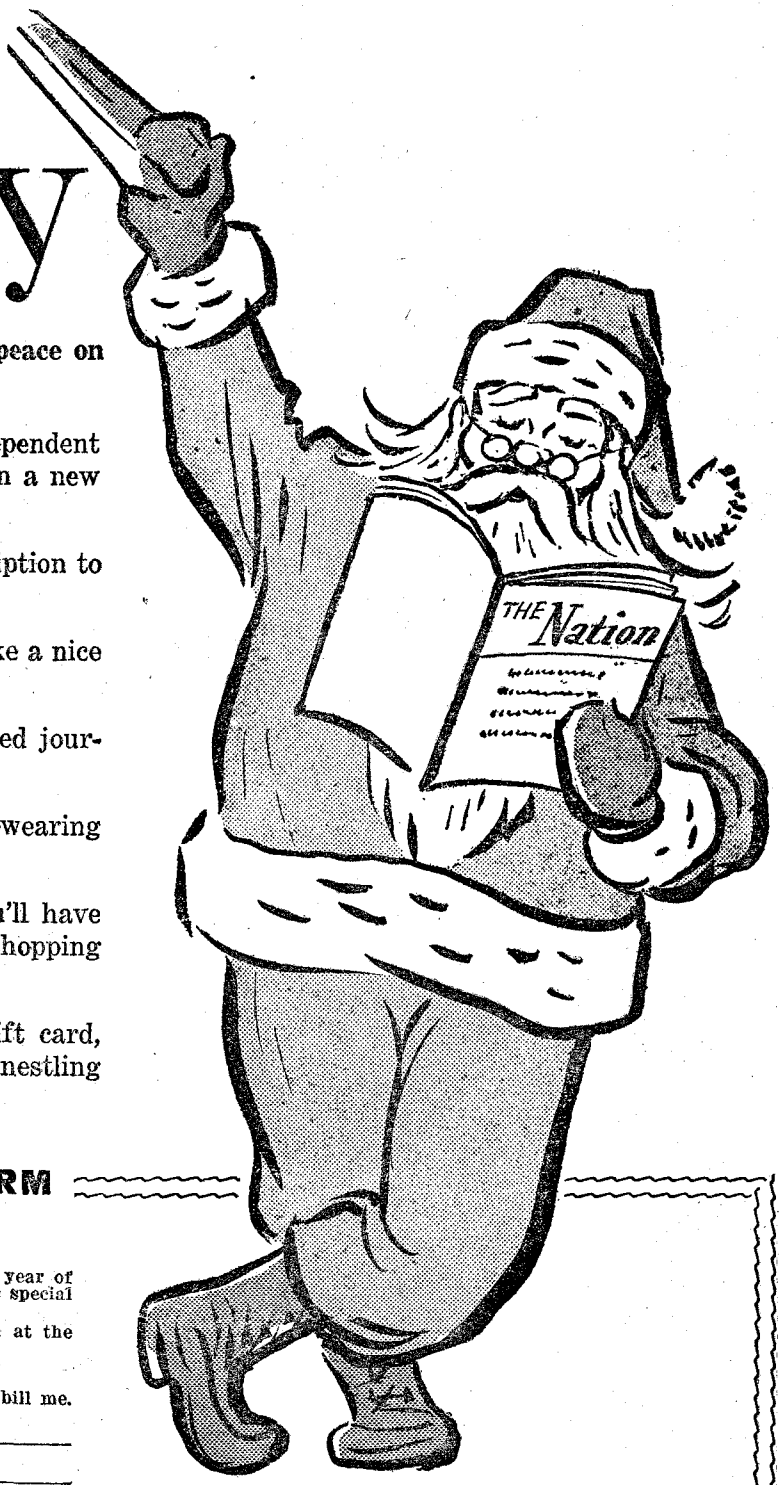
After all, 52 weeks of straight thinking make a nice Christmas package.

52 weeks of honest, thoughtful, unintimidated journalism can pack a lot of the old Yule spirit.

(And where nowadays can you find a longer-wearing four dollars' worth of gift?)

So fill in and mail the order form, and you'll have cleaned up a good part of your Christmas shopping in a most constructive way.

We'll handle the rest. We'll even send a gift card, naming you as donor, in time to have it nestling under the tree on Christmas morning.



GIFT ORDER FORM

THE NATION ASSOCIATES, Inc.
Twenty Vesey Street • New York 7, N. Y.

Dear Nation: Please send gift subscriptions of one year of The Nation to my friends as indicated below, at the special gift rate of $4 each.

☐ Also renew my own subscription to The Nation at the regular rate for _____ years.
☐ Don't renew my subscription now.
☐ Remittance inclosed. ☐ Please bill me.

My Name is_____
Street_____
City_____
Zone & State_____

Regular Subscription Rates:
One Year $6 • Two Years $10 • Three Years $14
For Foreign and Canadian subscriptions add $1.00 a year.

LIST GIFT SUBSCRIPTIONS HERE

Name_____
Street_____
City_____ Zone & State_____
Gift Card should read from_____
☐ Send Gift Card to me for mailing.

Name_____
Street_____
City_____ Zone & State_____
Gift Card should read from_____
☐ Send Gift Card to me for mailing.

Name_____
Street_____
City_____ Zone & State_____
Gift Card should read from_____
☐ Send Gift Card to me for mailing.

Name_____
Street_____
City_____ Zone & State_____
Gift Card should read from_____
☐ Send Gift Card to me for mailing.

Library 11/20/48
East Tennessee State College
Johnson City, Tennessee

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED